THE COMMUNIST

. XI APRIL, 1932 No. 4

FROM THE CONTENTS

The World Is Drifting into an Imperialist World War

For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism! . *Earl Browder*

The Tasks of the Communist Party, U. S. A.
Resolution for the Central Committee Plenum

The Role of American Finance Capital in the Present Crisis . . . . . *Harry Gannes*

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VOL. XI APRIL, 1932 No. 4

CONTENTS:

THE WORLD IS DRIFTING INTO AN IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR 291

FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION OF THE NEGROES! WAR AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM! 295
By EARL BROWDER

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.—Resolution for the Central Committee Plenum 310

THE ROLE OF AMERICAN FINANCE CAPITAL IN THE PRESENT CRISIS 325
By HARRY GANNES

SHOP POLITICS AND ORGANIZATION 338
By JOHN STEUBEN

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL PROBLEM 350
By J. STALIN

ON THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM. (Continued from last issue) 357
By V. ADORATSKY

OSWALD SPENGLER'S "PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE" 371
By G. VASILKOVSKY

LATIN AMERICA AND OUR PRESS 378
By A. G. MARTIN

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The World Is Drifting into an Imperialist World War

IMPERIALIST *war is here.* Fresh movements of troops are being carried out every day in Manchuria. The Japanese military are taking firm possession of the occupied country. It is being converted into *a basis for a further campaign.* In *Shanghai,* the Japanese at first suffered a setback. The national revolutionary resistance of the Chinese people has shown the Japanese that the time is passing when the Chinese people could be violated without resistance by any imperialist robber. The Japanese imperialists are using this setback as a pretext for bringing up further forces which shall suffice to transplant the war into the *interior of China,* to commence operations against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army and to hold compact bodies of troops in readiness on the Asiatic continent to attack the Soviet Union.

In *England,* the national government of the ex-Labor leader, Ramsay MacDonald, has set up a cabinet committee which is nothing but a committee for securing a uniform conduct of war. In *France,* there already exists the Tardieu cabinet. The new cabinet has already made an innovation in the structure of the government. The three portfolios: *war, navy* and *air,* have been concentrated in one ministry, as proposed by the chief of the Supreme War Council of the French army, General Weygand. In *Poland* drivers and guards on the railways are being dismissed and their places taken by reliable militarized people. The railway workshops are being converted into transportation workshops. In *Rumania,* the technical military corps which has been already set up, has been sanctioned by legislation. France is paying Rumania's debts to the firm of Skoda in order to facilitate the placing of new orders for war equipment. Arms and munitions are being loaded in *all European ports.* The mercantile fleets of the smaller countries, *Norway, Holland, Greece* and also *Germany,* are carrying cargoes for the big powers. In the war industry a boom commenced in the midst of the most profound economic crisis. The shares of the armament firms are rising every day. The insurance rates on merchant ships bound for the Pacific Ocean have increased 2,000 per cent. The reformist seamen's unions in a number of countries have put forward the partial demand: the shipping companies must increase the insurance sums to the level obtaining during the war.

That which was repeatedly predicted in the decisions of the Com-

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munist International and in the declarations of the Communist Parties has been fully confirmed: *the question of the redistribution of the world* stands immediately on the order of the day; *the question of the fight between two systems* has entered a new historical phase.

There are three factors which still exert an influence on the further development of the war which has already commenced and which threatens to develop into a military intervention against the Soviet Union, into a world war: the revolutionary activity of the proletariat, the resistance of the Chinese people to the robber war, and the development of antagonisms which exist among the leading imperialist powers. *The most important of these is the revolutionary activity of the world proletariat.*

In the plans of imperialism for finding a capitalist way out of the crisis, *war* as the last resort, has always occupied an important place. In seeking a warlike solution of the crisis, the imperialists are aiming on the one hand, at the partitioning of China and, on the other hand, at the subjugation of the Soviet Union by the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism. On *principle*, in their efforts to solve the crisis at the cost of China (while at the same time preserving their special interests in regard to the division of the booty) and to carry out intervention against the Soviet Union, all the imperialist governments are just as much united as they are in their efforts to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the working class and the working population, on to the weaker countries and the colonial peoples. On all other essential questions of world policy there exist *sharp conflicts of interest* between the imperialist countries. The particular intensification of these antagonisms is also attributable to the circumstance that the world war tremendously accentuated the *inequality of development* in the capitalist countries, and brought about great *changes in the relation of forces* among the imperialist powers. (Further coming to the front of America and France as states with the largest gold holdings, ousting of England from the most important economic positions, Japan's advance in the Far East by taking advantage of the crisis in the U. S. A. and in England, pushing back of Italy in the Danubian and Balkan countries, attempts on the part of Germany to take advantage of the imperialist antagonisms in order to bring about a resettlement of the reparations question and its Eastern frontiers, etc.)

All the most important world political problems of international politics, which are closely linked up with one another, especially *the question of the Versailles system* and the fight between *two systems* have been enormously intensified by the imperialist war in China. The question of the redistribution of the world, the fight between two worlds and the struggle for the way out of the crisis, precisely

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because of their interconnection, drive with special force to *a warlike solution.*

The instability of the groupings of the imperialist powers as a result of the intensification of the imperialist antagonisms is expressed, in the first place, in the fact that there exists in Europe *only one firm system of war alliances: the French system. This system has been extended by the addition of Japan as an ally in a world-war alliance.* The Franco-Japanese alliance aims not only at securing parallel action by Japan and France on the disarmament question, not only at united action in regard to the question of the partition of China, *but also at strengthening the position of France in Europe, and thereby to bolster up the shaky Versailles peace system.* In the very *first* place it pursues the object of getting a pincer-grip on the Soviet Union from the East and the West. The *English* government, on its part, is conducting negotiations, on the one hand, with France in order to set up a united front against the U. S. A. on the question of the inter-allied debts, and, on the other hand, is striving by negotiations with the Japanese government to restore the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The *U. S. A.* is endeavoring to frustrate these negotiations, insofar as they are directed against its interests, and to turn them *against the Soviet Union.*

The sharpness of the imperialist antagonisms renders difficult the formation of new groupings of power. But—as the Japanese campaign in Manchuria and in the Yangtse valley shows—it not only *does not form an insurmountable obstacle to the immediate war preparations but is also no obstacle preventing the world from creeping into the world war, into military intervention against the Soviet Union.* As experience shows, these groupings are formed at the outbreak and partly even in the course of war, in the carrying out of military operations.

Since the October Revolution great changes have taken place which have an effect on the war policy of imperialism. The Soviet Union with its policy of peace, the proletarian and national revolutionary movements have, it is true, by endangering the hinterland of the imperialist bourgeoisie, created an essential factor considerably increasing the *risk of war* for the imperialist powers. Nevertheless, *no less essential factors have arisen which facilitate the organization of imperialist world war.* These are the union of world imperialism in the League of Nations and its agents, its chief supports in the war preparations in the ranks of the working class, the Second and the Asterdam Internationals. The League of Nations, which in the midst of the Japanese war in China and at a time of immediate provocation of a military intervention against the Soviet Union organizes the "Disarmament" Conference, and the Second and the

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Amsterdam Internationals, which transmit the humbugging pacifist slogans of the League of Nations to the working masses, which conduct the campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union, and promote the production and transport of weapons and munitions to Japan—are factors which, *as promoters of the preparation of imperialist world war, of military intervention against the Soviet Union, must not be underestimated.*

The Japanese campaign in Manchuria, in the Yangtse valley and the Northern province of China is a striking proof that no firm, definite agreements among the leading imperialist powers are necessary in order to commence war. The particularly deep crisis of Japanese imperialism, its peculiarities explain why Japanese imperialism has gone farther of all the leading imperialist powers in employing every means in the fight for a capitalist way out of the crisis. Japanese imperialism has in addition, in alliance with France, taken advantage of the crisis in England and in the United States in order to confront these imperialist powers with a fait accompli in China. Up to now everything has proceeded just as General Tanaka, in his memorandum of July 25th, 1927, predicted and proposed. Even the military intervention in Manchuria and in the Yangtse valley has been carried out in accordance with Tanaka's plan.

A decisive mobilization of the masses is urgently necessary— in the first place against the transport of weapons and munitions which are being conveyed from all capitalist countries to Japan. The defense of China, of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviets must occupy first place among the tasks of all Communist Parties. The defense of the independence of China is an integral part of the defense of the Soviet Union, a defense of the proletariat of all capitalist countries against a new world war. It is now not only a question of directing the attention of the international working class to the danger of war, of exposing the sophisms of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, necessary as this may be. All this is a *necessary, indispensable part* of the fight against imperialist war. But today it is *absolutely insufficient.* To stir up the broad masses, to organize their *action* against the transport of war material to Japan, against the use of the railways, and especially of the harbors and mercantile fleets, for supplying the Japanese imperialists with munitions, weapons and poison gases—that is the command *not only of the day but of the hour. In this hour all Communist Parties must once again issue the appeal to the workers of all countries: It depends upon you, upon your action against the war which has already commenced, whether the European countries, the whole world, will creep into the world war.* Act! Act! Act!

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For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!

By EARL BROWDER

Extracts from a report to a meeting of American students, on behalf of the Central Committee, Communist Party of U. S. A., on the subject of the struggle for Negro rights in connection with the relation between white and Negro students in the School.

Comrades: I have purposely refrained from preparing a formal report, my purpose being to give the views of the Central Committee as informally as possible. I want to speak fully, frankly, and intimately about all the problems, especially the incidents showing the influence of white chauvinism, that have arisen in the school. I hope it will be possible to make this a Party meeting in the fullest sense of the word, that no one comes here with any reservations whatever, that we will liquidate all differences and unify the Party on the basis of the single Bolshevik approach, of one Bolshevik line.

We approach our problems here by speaking first of all of the Party, because we have failed to find a clear understanding among the students that the Party and its Leninist theory is the only possible instrument for solving our problems. On the contrary, we found a tendency toward groupings, toward a division of the Party members, instead of unification. This disintegrative tendency had affected the entire student body. We consider this to be one of our gravest problems, because when the unity of the Party is threatened, when groups of Party members begin to look toward group tendencies and attitudes for solution of their problems rather than toward the Party, then we are in a bad way, for then we are in danger of losing the only instrument whereby our problem can be solved.

Why do we have such problems as these white-chauvinist mistakes by our white comrades? Are these problems in the school of an accidental nature, or have they a connection with the state of our struggle among the masses? I think we will entirely fail to understand these problems in the school, of relation between white and Negro students, unless we take them in direct connection with the problems of the mass struggle arising in the United States.

What have we in the U. S. A. today? We have an unprece-

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dented economic crisis which has shattered the old mass illusions about "permanent prosperity," and the new "Victorian Age" of American imperialism. The crisis has gone so deep that it has plunged large sections of the working class into starvation, is submerging sections of the lower middle classes and farmers, and is sharpening every antagonism, every contradiction, of American society.

In the past year the C. P. U. S. A. has been able in this situation to mobilize increasing masses of the oppressed for struggle against these conditions. We have proved the effectiveness of the Party line by certain results in the fields of struggle, in strikes against wage cuts and speed-up, building the revolutionary unions; in mass struggles for unemployment relief and insurance, for building the Unemployed Councils; and the struggle for Negro rights, mobilizing white and black workers for joint battle on concrete issues. We have shown that our program is correct, and that we are beginning to find the forms and methods of work, whereby it can be brought into life among the masses. We must approach our inner problems upon the basis of these mass struggles.

Among the political advances of our Party during 1931, the most decisive was precisely in the struggle for Negro rights. In what did these victories consist? In this, that the Party raised concretely the issues of Negro rights on the basis of the Leninist program on the national question, and aroused masses of Negroes and also of whites, to struggle upon these concrete issues. The masses have responded to our program, and in the struggle there has begun a sharp class differentiation among the Negroes.

Our Party for many years has raised the slogan of struggle for Negro rights. Why have we only now begun to arouse mass struggles? There are objective and subjective reasons for this. First, the results of the crisis, which fall heaviest upon the Negro masses, including the sharpening repression and lynch terror. The second includes primarily the improved work of our Party, based upon clarification of its political line and its concretization in immediate issues and daily struggles.

The reason for our comparative lack of success in the previous years, cannot be found in lack of sincerity, determination, energy, in carrying on our work. There were weaknesses in these matters, but the main explanation was the unclarity of our program, the lack of Leninist theoretical approach to the Negro question. Because we failed concretely to apply Bolshevik theory we fell into errors in the nature of bourgeois liberalism, and of a social-democratic approach to the Negro masses. We tended in practice to approach them with the attitude of bourgeois-liberal humanitarian-

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ism, unrelated to the consideration of the Negro masses as an oppressed nation. We failed to develop the Bolshevik conception of the Negro question, in sharp contradiction to all the varieties of bourgeois thought. Consequently, we fell into the position of competing with bourgeois liberalism on its own terms, dragging at its tail.

It was the assistance of the Comintern which enabled us to overcome these fatal weaknesses on the Negro question. The Bolshevik program on the Negro question was not simply a generalization of our own experiences in America. It was an application of Lenin's program on the national question which summarized the world experience of generations of revolutionary struggle and especially the experiences of the revolutionary solution of the national question in the Soviet Union. We could not have arrived at our program only upon the basis of our own American experience. It was the existence of the World Party of Communism which made possible for us the elaboration of a correct Leninist program on the Negro question.

Have we used this program? Yes, only a beginning, but still sufficient to prove how tremendously powerful it is. But, comrades, we have not made the entire Party master of this powerful weapon, and therefore our progress lags far, far behind its possibilities—and necessities.

We can mention three or four high points in our work in the past year, which stirred the masses. First, was the war against white chauvinism, which we dramatized in the now famous Yokinen trial. We seized upon an incident of discrimination against a Negro by a member of our Party, held a public mass trial which proved the guilt of white chauvinism, and expelled the guilty one from the Party.

It is impossible for the Communist Party to lead the struggle for Negro liberation unless it begins by burning out of its own ranks every manifestation and trace of the influence of white chauvinism, of the bourgeois system of ideas of Negro inferiority which stinks of the slave market. The Yokinen trial was mass propaganda for this beginning of the struggle.

The purpose of our work on the Negro question is to establish unity of white and black proletariat in a common struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the leadership of the proletariat over the Negro masses in the struggle for their national liberation. The purpose of the ruling bourgeoisie is to destroy this unification, and to establish the leadership of the bourgeoisie over the Negro masses. The main ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie is that of white chauvinism; secondarily, it makes use of Negro nation-

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alist tendencies. Therefore white chauvinism is the main enemy, against which we must conduct an intolerant war of extermination, against all its forms, open and concealed, a war of political fire and sword. That was the meaning of the Yokinen trial.

At first we expected only our Party and its close sympathizers to be interested and affected by the Yokinen trial. But we received a surprise and a great political lesson. We learned that the Bolshevik idea is so powerful that when we begin to apply it seriously even within the confines of our own Party, this becomes sensational news for all America. This trial was reported at length with photographs by every important newspaper in America. Why? In the first place, because all America was interested in a public challenge dramatically flung into the face of a basic bourgeois principle of social relationships in America. Secondly, the bourgeoisie thought by this publicity to arouse a storm of white chauvinism against us. They were mistaken. There was mass interest, the entire country was "shocked" to hear of such a bold challenge to the "American institution" of jim-crowism. But instead of a storm against our Party, the result was a big wave of sympathy and approval, in the first place among the Negro masses, but also among the white workers. This shows us how the smallest events inside of our Party may have most profound consequences among the masses. This applies both ways, favorably and unfavorably. Our mistakes drive the masses away from us, while a firm Bolshevik line draws them to us. The expulsion of Yokinen, expressing our declaration of war against white chauvinism, exerted a tremendous influence to draw the Negro masses closer to us. At the same time we must say, that whenever we allow to go unchallenged within our Party, any manifestation, even the smallest and most indirect, of white chauvinism, this echoes and re-echoes among the masses and drives them away from us. The Negro masses know everything that goes on in our Party that relates to the Negro question. It is not possible for us to extend our political influence among them except upon the basis of daily, continuous, uncompromising, relentless war against every manifestation of white chauvinism.

Soon after the Yokinen trial, followed the mass struggle to save the nine boys at Scottsboro from legal lynching. If we had not previously had the experience of the Yokinen trial, probably the Scottsboro boys would have become merely another item in the long list of Negro lynchings which disgrace America daily. If our Party had not been awakened, made politically alert on the Negro question, by the Yokinen trial, then in all likelihood the Scottsboro boys would have been executed with little ceremony and

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less protest as so many hundreds and thousands of others equally innocent have been. But because the Communist Party had been politically armed and prepared, this made it possible to seize upon the Scottsboro case for a national mobilization of protest and struggle which aroused large masses throughout the country, and even throughout the world.

We had many weaknesses in the Scottsboro struggle. But on the whole we must say the Party conducted it correctly and with great effect among the masses. Already in this struggle we begin to achieve a sharp beginning of the process of class differentiation among the Negroes. At first, the Negro bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders and newspapers were thrown into confusion by the Communist raising of the Scottsboro issue so widely and effectively. In the first days some of them came out in our support. But very quickly the deep-going nature of the Communist appeal to the masses frightened them and forced these petty-bourgeois elements to turn sharply against us, and to make common cause with the Southern state power of the lynching white bourgeoisie. Very soon we had the mass movement, on one side, headed by the Communist Party and sympathetic organizations; while on the other side, we had the lynch-law government, the Negro petty-bourgeois leaders, the socialist party and the white liberals; and these two sides engaged in the sharpest political struggle. This was a tremendous step forward in the education of the masses. It threw a searchlight upon the machinery of class rule in America, for all to see. Here we begin to see the slogan of unity of white and black workers, taking on its full political significance, while the masses begin to understand that the Communists are quite different from the liberal humanitarians who speak of "human brotherhood" and "class peace," but tolerate and actively support the machinery of legal and extra-legal lynchings and jim-crowism.

In the midst of the Scottsboro campaign we made another political step forward, in the struggle of the Negro share-croppers in Camp Hill. This battle was the first struggle directly resulting from our penetration of the Black Belt, of the agrarian population. It brought out the basic question of the Negroes as a nation, the question of the land and land-tenure, the question of the agrarian revolution, the overthrowing of the semi-feudal agrarian relationships. While immediately Camp Hill was only a struggle for certain partial demands, and correctly so, it threw a bright light upon the basic problem of the land, and thereby became a political milestone in the development of our Negro work.

We have other experiences of political importance. For example, in Detroit we were able to hook up together the struggle

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for Negro rights with the struggle for protection of the foreign-born workers, by a joint movement on the Scottsboro case and against the alien registration law of Michigan. This effectively countered the efforts of the bourgeoisie to develop among the Negroes anti-foreign sentiment on the grounds that "foreigners are taking away the jobs of American Negroes," and of anti-Negro sentiment among the foreign-born on the basis of white chauvinism. When two such struggles are united together they take on multiplied political importance and power. Our Communist Party is the only organization that can even conceive the idea of such fusion of the two mass movements for joint effort.

In Chicago and Cleveland, we had a higher development of unity of white and black in mass actions, in the protest movements against the police massacre of Negro workers fighting against eviction of unemployed workers from their homes. These movements led by the Party and Unemployed Councils stirred the masses to their depths. In Chicago, more than 60,000 white and Negro workers marched shoulder to shoulder in the streets in defiance of police prohibitions, supported by 50,000 more in the meetings in addition to the marchers. Before this demonstration the capitalist press was openly agitating and organizing for a repetition of the so-called "race riots" of 1919, when they tried to smash the union of slaughterhouse workers by instigating armed struggle between white and black masses; the demonstration on August 8, effectively smashed these efforts, and instead of "race riots," the bourgeoisie was forced to begin to talk about "the menace of unemployed riots led by the Communists." In Cleveland the same experience was repeated on the smaller scale called for by the smaller size of the population involved. These two mass actions greatly stimulated the growth of the Unemployed Councils; previously the white and Negro workers were slow to come into the Councils, but after they experienced the tremendous power of joint actions on the streets when white and black fought shoulder to shoulder, fighting for the demands of the unemployed and for Negro rights in particular, masses began to flock into the Councils. The greatest success of the Unemployed Councils followed directly from the taking up of the mass struggle for Negro rights.

* * *

Comrades, I have spoken at length about our experiences lately in the mass struggle in order to show, first of all, how everything that touches upon the Negro question is for our Party a question of fundamental principle importance, a matter of life and death. This is equally true of the questions that have arisen among the

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students in the school. When we saw our students dividing themselves into groups, fighting among themselves, with the main line of division being whites versus Negroes, it was at once clear to us that we are dealing with the influence of bourgeois ideas among our students, the influence of an enemy class, which could take effect because our students have been insufficiently armed with Bolshevik theory. Just as the tremendous problems of the mass struggle in America require the instrument of Bolshevik theory to solve, so also do the smallest problems in the school.

We have a difficult situation among the students; relations are strained and passions are inflamed. But it is not impossible of solution, if we can secure the collaboration of every Party member, upon the Party line, to raise these questions to a political level and apply Bolshevik theory. The Central Committee of our Party is determined that such a scandalous, disgraceful situation of white and Negro Party members quarreling among themselves, unable to unite in daily practical work, shall be immediately liquidated.

Have we the ability within ourselves to overcome these difficulties? I think we have. Let me recall to your minds the words of Comrade Stalin, when he pointed out that "our difficulties are such that they contain within them the possibility of overcoming them." This also applies to our present problems. For you students, members of the C. P. U. S. A., the meaning is that, by coming together as members of one Bolshevik Party, by applying in practice our Bolshevik theory, we will find everything necessary to solve these problems.

Of course, we will fail to solve our problem if we look outside of ourselves for the solution. There is no magic formula, no vague "higher power," which will come and do the job for us. This meeting here, your collective and individual participation in it, must provide everything necessary to set into motion such forces as weld solidly together, in unbreakable unity, the white and black members of our Party for our common Party purposes, and liquidate every trace of the influence of enemy class ideas, first of all, of white chauvinism.

It is my distinct impression that among the students there has been a process of disintegration, of breaking up into groups and grouplets. Perhaps there are no definitely crystallized groups, but the tendency has affected the entire student body. The main reason for this is, that when faced by certain mistakes by some white comrades in the direction of white chauvinism, the student body as a whole was not sufficiently mature politically to squarely face this situation and liquidate it. Instead there developed a subjective and personal approach, and then to form groupings to solve the prob-

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lem. Immediately this resulted in the rise of a great zeal to find and correct the mistakes, not of one's self and one's little group, but of someone else and another group. I must say that there has been no lack of zeal among the students for the correction of mistakes—but always the mistakes of the other person. There is no eagerness for self-correction. But it is clear that mistakes have been general, both political and practical, and that what is required is a general self-correction and joint effort of the student body as a united fraction of our Party. Unfortunately, our students were insufficiently armed with Bolshevik theory for this task.

If you, students, had sufficiently understood the Leninist theory of the national question, how could the white comrades have left the task to the Negro comrades of correcting the errors of white chauvinism? No one denies that white chauvinist errors were committed; but we do not see white comrades coming forward as the champions for their correction, as is your duty. On the contrary, the white comrades had the tendency to admit such errors only to pass on at once to the detailed examination of errors of the Negro comrades, which they put in the foreground, and to also develop some really grotesque ideas of how to solve the problem.

It is not my purpose in this report to deal with the particular errors and identify them upon certain individuals. That must be done, but I am not the best person to do it, because I have not the closest acquaintance with the details of these errors and their authors. Who is best qualified to really expose each particular error? I think the person who committed the error could do this best. In the name of the Central Committee I invite each one of you to expose and combat your own errors; we will help you, and if it is then insufficiently done, we will supplement your self-criticism. It is necessary to attack individuals only when they defend their mistakes; when they join with us to attack the mistakes, then we are all on one side fighting shoulder to shoulder, the mistakes are on the other side and will thus be driven out of our ranks. Anyone who holds tightly to a mistake, refuses to abandon it, considers it is an essential part of himself which he must protect at all costs, such a person and only such will find himself in conflict with the Central Committee and eventually outside the Party.

What are the mistakes that have been made? They have been concessions to white chauvinism; setting up artificial separation between white and Negro comrades during the journey to the school; a paternalistic attitude toward Negro comrades by white comrades, assuming direction of their daily behavior; failing to correct such mistakes when they occurred, insufficient political sensitivity to the

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meaning of such mistakes; efforts to counter one mistake of white chauvinism by setting up against it a mistake of Negro nationalist character; allowing the development of bad personal relations, calling of names of "bourgeois nationalist" and "factionalist"; development of ideas of systematic separation of white and Negro, in a proposal of a "Negro Federation" within the Communist Party; and so forth. Further, there was a tendency to minimize the political importance of the whole situation.

These mistakes were contained in what have been described by some comrades as "very little" incidents. But comrades, you must understand that it is precisely such "little" things inside the Party that are the most dangerous because most difficult to combat and eradicate. It is comparatively easy to fight open, unashamed white chauvinism. There is no particular merit in that inside the Party, because there is and can be no such manifestations of white chauvinism tolerated inside. White chauvinists who should happen to find themselves inside our Party are quickly expelled without ceremony. Therefore, all manifestations of the influence of white chauvinism within the Party always and necessarily takes on a more or less concealed form, in some "little" incident. We must, as Bolsheviks, have a keen political nose for such hidden chauvinism, drag it out in the open and liquidate it, without vulgarizing the struggle or creating anything where it does not really exist. That is a test of our ability to defend the Bolshevik line, tested in practice by our ability to develop daily solidarity between white and Negro comrades in the common work.

Were these mistakes the result of bad intentions? I am sure they were not. I am sure the comrades involved were shocked to find they had fallen victims to bourgeois ideology. But there is an old saying: The road to hell is paved with good intentions. The comrades, in spite of the best of intentions, fell into the swamp of bourgeois ideology and the whole student body was soon floundering about in contradictions, unable to liquidate the situation.

What was the basic cause of this helplessness? Is this such a bad body of students? No, I think it is on the whole a very good body of students, of Communists. It represents a selected group of our best. But they *all* made one fundamental mistake, represented in its crassest form in the statement: "We are faced with a practical problem, not a problem of theory."

Whenever we approach a problem from the viewpoint of narrow practicality, we will inevitably fall into rotten liberalism, a form of bourgeois degeneration. You should understand this now, since in our school we are studying at this moment the issues on the theoretical front in the Comintern. This should give you a

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keener appreciation of the practical implications of theory than before. The greatest weakness of our Party is still its low theoretical level, and the main purpose of your attendance at this school is to equip you with theory, not abstract theory, but Bolshevik theory which means theory organically connected with daily life and practice.

There have been some complaints that the discussions and struggles on these theoretical questions have interfered with the studies in the school and broken up the regularity of classes. Such a view is a completely formal understanding, and separates theory from practice in such a way as to destroy the revolutionary significance of both. I want to read to you a quotation from Comrade Stalin on theory, which was used in the recent speech of Comrade Kaganovich. It is worth repeating many times. Comrade Stalin said:

> "Theory is the experience of the movement of all countries, taken in its general aspect. Theory becomes, naturally, objectless, if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice becomes blind if it fails to illuminate its path with revolutionary theory. But theory may become the greatest power of the workers' movement if it is indissolubly connected with revolutionary practice. Theory, and only theory, can add to the movement certainty, the power of orientation, and understanding of the inner connection of surrounding events; theory, and only theory, may enable practice to understand not only how the classes are moving at present, but also how and to where they must turn in the nearest future."

It is precisely from this Bolshevik approach that we must say that the situation among the students is a disgraceful one, because it reveals that weakness, fundamental for a Bolshevik, of separation of our revolutionary theory from the practice of everyday life. We are not bourgeois liberals, humanitarians, ethical culturists. We are Bolsheviks, members of a fighting Party of the working class, who know that the only road to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism is through welding together the iron unity of our Party, the vanguard, in relentless struggle against all the enemy-class ideology which penetrates into our ranks, as the prerequisite to the effective struggle against the class enemy physically.

To the white comrades it is necessary to say openly: You are primarily responsible for the bad relationship, because through you it was possible for the bourgeois ideology of white chauvinism to be reflected in our school, which was the root of the situation. You were not sufficiently armed theoretically, not enough on your guard, against alien influences. You have not been enough Bolsheviks. You must realize your responsibility. You must also make an end of the game of balancing off your mistakes as against those of the

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Negro comrades, like a little shopkeeper balancing his petty books. You must realize that your mistakes are much more serious for our Party than those of the Negro comrades. If you cannot understand these things, then you are still unable to understand the fundamentals of the Leninist program on the national question.

Does this mean that the Negro comrades have made no mistakes? No, they have also made mistakes, which we will speak of openly. And when we say those of the white comrades are much more serious, this does not mean that we minimize the importance of correcting the Negro comrades. Furthermore, the mistakes of Negro and white comrades are not disconnected. Every sort of deviation from the Bolshevik line is a concession to the ideology of an enemy class. The white chauvinist mistakes were deviations in the direction of the American ruling imperialist bourgeoisie; those of the Negro comrades were deviations towards Negro bourgeois nationalism, in the main. These are two roads toward the same camp.

We thus give the class characterization of these mistakes. At the same time it is necessary to speak sharply against those comrades who speak of the Negro comrades as "Negro nationalists," etc. This is not a Bolshevik method of criticism, it turns the attention away from the political problem toward the person, while our desire is the opposite, to raise the discussion above persons to political issues. Let there be a stop finally to this whole method of political discussion which consists in attaching an enemy label to a Party comrade; when the time comes for such labels, the discussion is over and the issue has become one of putting a non-Communist outside the ranks of our Party.

Both deviations that came to the foreground in this discussion, would have the effect of serving the interests of the bourgeoisie, of American imperialism, by perpetuating the separation of the working class into two parts, white and Negro. It is therefore clear that we have to struggle on two fronts, simultaneously, against both deviations. The main front is that against the white imperialist ruling bourgeoisie, and the main danger is therefore white chauvinism, against which we must make intolerant systematic war of extermination. This struggle must be led by the white comrades, whose especial duty it is to react sharply and quickly for struggle against every manifestation of white chauvinist influence.

The front of struggle against Negro nationalism is more complicated and must be handled more carefully. With the beginning of class-differentiation among the Negroes, which we have noted during the Scottsboro campaign, the struggle on this front has become hot. This is our struggle against DuBois, Pickens, Kelly,

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Miller, Walter White and Company of the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for Advancement of Colored People), and against Garveyism. It is on this front that we especially need the services of our Negro comrades, fully armed with the weapons of Lenin's theories. Your work here in the school should be carried on especially with this in mind. How important this is for our Party can be seen by the highly important place won by our Negro comrade, Harry Haywood, who is one of our leading theoretical workers today, precisely by his contributions on this front.

* * *

Comrades, my report was deliberately informal, because I feared that a well-prepared formal report might be taken formally. I have spoken extemporaneously, hoping thereby to come more intimately into your problems, and influence each of you to make and entirely new, fresh approach to the problems of your daily life.

The questions you are dealing with practically today occupy a central place, for our Party's development. This very situation must be looked upon as an important moment in the history of our Party, as a crucial test of our Party's ability to face and overcome first of all within itself those problems which must be faced and overcome in a thousand-fold intensified form in the development of the revolution. Thus, today is one of the important moments in our Party development. Each one of you, by the nature of your participation in our discussion, will decide how you are going to influence the future of our Party.

That decision which each of you must make, is not the formal one of whether you hold up your hand for or against a resolution. We might all hold up our hands for the same resolution, but if we then go back into the school, not to remedy the present relationships but to make them worse than before, such a decision would be worse than a waste of time. No, the question each of you must answer is this: "Shall I join with the Central Committee, not only in voting for a resolution, but in transforming the whole life of the school, beginning with a transformation of my own part in it, toward complete unification on the basis of Leninist theory?"

In the discussion that is to take place, it will be important that each one of you will have to say. More important is, what are you thinking. One of the obstacles to achieving the results we wish from this meeting is that some of you are at this moment thinking such thoughts as this: "Yes, I will help the Central Committee; I will help my not saying what I really think." But that is precisely what will not help the Central Committee. It is your very thinking which is at the base of the whole problem, and if we cannot change your thoughts, so that your thinking helps to unify the

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Party then your worlds are worth exactly nothing. With such thoughts you are repeating the mistake of Comrade Mintz, who, discussing the mistakes in the *History of the C. P. S. U.* tried to separate the "politically expedient" from the "objectively true." Such an attitude means one of two things; either one does not understand the fundamentals of dialectical materialism, or one declares that the Communist Party can find "expedient" that which is objectively false, which would mean a belief that the Party line is false. No, with such thoughts you cannot in any way help the Party.

This problem in the school is not accidental, as we have shown. And it cannot be isolated to the school. Its effects will spread far beyond. It is our task to so transform it, that we find within it not only the immediate solution, but also transform this incident into a weapon to raise the whole struggle for Negro liberation to a higher level, and an instrument for the further Bolshevization of our cadres. That means that we must make such a discussion here, and conclude it with such a unanimous resolution, that can be spread far and wide as the best kind of repudiation of all slanders against our Party, and the best proof that our Party not only wants to fight against white chauvinism, and for Negro liberation, but also that it knows how to make the fight, boldly and effectively. By taking part in this discussion now, you will be passing a real test of the Bolshevik qualities of a selected group of the leading cadres of the Communist Party of U. S. A.

* * *

CONCLUDING REMARKS AFTER DISCUSSION

Comrades, after some sixty speeches in two-days discussions, I am sure at this late hour no one expects a complete summary. Therefore I will speak only a few concluding words.

In this discussion the line presented for the Central Committee has met a genuine response from the students, which is gratifying. It proves that the Central Committee did not make very big mistakes when it selected this student body; that it has the basic Bolshevik qualities in spite of mistakes. We have made a good beginning of real self-criticism. But we cannot be satisfied with this; this must start a process in the daily life of the school, and only then has it permanent significance.

In our discussion we have spoken about the struggle for Leninism now going on on the theoretical front in the Comintern. In the light of our discussion, which has been a step forward for our Party in concretely applying Bolshevik theory to daily life, in liquidating the gap between theory and practice, we can say that we

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have begun to carry the line of Comrade Stalin's letter into the life of the Communist Party of U. S. A.

A few words must be spoken about some general problems raised in the discussion. First as to the extent of white chauvinism among the workers in the U. S. and in our Party. Two errors must be guarded against on this question. One is, to try to find some mechanical limitation to the influence of white chauvinism among the workers. While it is correct to speak of the labor aristocracy as the special bearers of white chauvinist influence among the workers, because this aristocracy finds a material interest in Negro subjection, it is not correct to limit this influence to the aristocracy of labor. White chauvinist influence penetrates as deeply among the workers as the whole influence of bourgeois ideology; that means, just so far as we have not broken it down by revolutionary education and re-education of the workers. There is a limited spontaneous breaking down of white chauvinism among the workers, but on the whole we can safely say that *only* to the degree that our Party organizes and leads the conscious struggle against white chauvinism, is this influence destroyed among the workers. The opposite kind of mistake is to speak of the whole working class as "white chauvinists." The masses are influenced by white chauvinism but they are not active bearers of this bourgeois poison. Active white chauvinists among the workers are a distinct minority. Similarly, within our Party, we must say that white-chauvinist influences are still widespread, but it is absolutely wrong to speak of white chauvinism as "rampant" within our Party; on the contrary, within the Party it is characterized by its sneaking, slinking character, trying to hide itself, because here it is an outlaw. These facts give us the scope of our inner struggle against white chauvinism, and show its difficulties. It is an essential part of the struggle against the whole system of bourgeois ideology. Each individual white worker finds it necessary to free himself from this influence by conscious inner struggle, as well as participate in the organized Party struggle against it.

Some comrades have tried to develop here the conception of two kinds of "nationalism," one bourgeois and reactionary, the other proletarian and revolutionary. Here is some confusion which must be briefly clarified. We are not dealing with two kinds of "nationalism," but with the national liberation struggle of the masses of the oppressed nation, on the one hand, and with the "nationalist" system of ideas of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation, on the other hand, which attempts to control the national liberation movement for its own class interests, and in the era of imperialism almost invariably subordinates it also to the interests of the oppressing im-

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perialist power. These are two different and contradictory factors. The efforts of the subject people to liberate itself from oppression, this is a revolutionary struggle, an integral part of the world struggle to overthrow imperialism as a whole. Our task is to bring this struggle for national liberation under the leadership of the proletariat, defeating the influence of the bourgeoisie which can lead it only to betrayal. This is precisely the central point of Lenin's program on the national question, which is the instrument for unifying these two main forces for common struggle against imperialism. It is precisely a distinquishing feature of the Second International, of reformism, that in the name of a false "internationalism" it denies the right of national self-determination to the oppressed peoples. True internationalism, that is Leninism, places the right of self-determination as a basic programmatic point. The "internationalism" of the reformists is in reality the nationalism of their own respective imperialist rulers; while the national program of Lenin is an essential part of internationalism. Any "internationalism" that denies the right of self-determination to the subject peoples is false, is a mere cover for imperialist chauvinism.

* * *

Comrades, these discussions have indeed marked a real mobilization for a political war against white chauvinism, for broader and deeper mobilization of the masses of white and Negro workers in the U. S. A., for the struggle for Negro liberation. This is an essential part of the class struggle, of the struggle for overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We live and fight within the world fortress of capitalism, of imperialism, which finds one of its main instruments of rule in the division between white and Negro workers. But this division also represents one of the weakest spots of American imperialism, where we can strike quickest and hardest, it represents a pre-capitalist survival, a relic of slavery and feudalism, a crying anachronism, embodying all the contradictions of the decaying imperialist world. In this discussion we have more effectively armed ourselves with the Leninist theory, whereby we can call forth for struggle all the revolutionary forces generated by this national oppression of the Negroes, link them up with the rising forces of the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, and thus with multiplied capacity for effective battle against the oppressors, the imperialist bourgeoisie, we will "sail into the face of the storm" of the revolutionary mass struggles that are being prepared in America on a gigantic scale.

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The Tasks of the Communist Party U.S.A.

RESOLUTION FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

THE Communist Party of U. S. A. has made some improvement in its work in strikes, hunger marches and the struggles of the Negroes. Notwithstanding this, and the increasingly favorable conditions for the fulfillment of its daily increasing tasks in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, against the pronounced aggressiveness of American imperialism and the immediate perspectives of a new, imperialist world war, our Party has not yet made the essential change in its work necessary for the carrying out of its chief immediate task. This task is to overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American proletariat, to come before the masses as their vanguard in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against the imperialist war, and to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contacts with the workers.

I. THE SITUATION

Capitalism of the United States has been hardest hit by the economic crisis, as expressed in the unprecedented fall in production and trade, and in the growth of mass unemployment, which plunges millions and millions of workers in the cities and in the rural districts into hunger and poverty. The crisis is destroying the petty bourgeois illusions of the masses about the "American standard of living," "community of interests of labor and capital," and creates the most favorable prerequisites for the formation and strengthening of the class front of the proletariat and the working masses.

In its efforts to save the capitalist system from a further deepening of the crisis, and to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, the American bourgeoisie is carrying on the fiercest attacks against the masses and is feverishly preparing for a war against its imperialist rivals and, above all, for intervention against the Soviet Union. Wage cut after wage cut is being forced through, millions of unemployed are subjected to hunger and poverty and the standard of living of the masses has already been forced down by more than 50 per cent through wage losses as a result of wage cuts and un-

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employment. The financial oligarchy with the help of the state, is daily accumulating more of the national wealth in its hands, through the unprecedented impoverishment of the workers, and at the expense of the small taxpayers, farmers and small bourgeoisie ("Reconstruction Corporation" of Hoover, increased tariffs, etc.). The offensive of the capitalists is characterized by sharpened police, fascist and semi-fascist repression and terror against the workers and their class organizations. Simultaneously, the bourgeoisie resorts widely and systematically to demagogic and "democratic" maneuvers, using more and more the social-democrats, the "Musteites" and the various pseudo-"Lefts" as a tool for confusing and disorganizing the workers.

The two main bourgeois parties (Republican and Democratic) both fully supporting the policies of finance capital, divide the roles among themselves in order to prevent the masses from breaking away from the policy of finance capital as exercised through the traditional two-party system. The Republican Party, which is the party in power, is carrying on more openly this policy of hunger, terror and war preparations. The Democratic Party, whose present function is to win the support of the toiling masses and particularly the unemployed, who are disillusioned by the Hoover government, has the same domestic and foreign policy as the Republican Party. The state governments under Democratic Party control carry on the same policy as the Hoover government. The Democratic congressmen and senators vote for all measures against the working class. But the Democratic Party, in order to fool the masses, is resorting more and more to the widespread use of demagogy, particularly with regard to unemployment relief. The chief candidates for the democratic nomination for president (Roosevelt, Baker, Ritchie, etc.) are the most experienced demagogs, and in the North, for example, talk about equality for the Negro and at the same time, in the South, support lynch law and carry through fully the ruthless policy of Wall Street.

The bloc of "progressives" representing the rich farmers and certain sections of small capitalists (La Follette, Morris, etc.) is likewise fully supporting the policies of Wall Street. Its "opposition" is more cowardly than ever. These elements, who in 1924 organized the La Follette third party and who are at the moment dividing their support between Hoover and the Democratic Party, hope to enter into an election bloc with the Democrats in order to enable Wall Street to keep the masses chained to the old capitalist parties. At the same time they demagogically talk about unemployment relief (Pinchot), unemployment insurance (La Follette), about farm relief, etc.

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The sharp change in the international situation is the outstanding feature of the present situation. The war for the repartitioning of the world, and in the first place, for the imperialist partitioning of China and the crushing of the Chinese revolution, is already being waged by the imperialists in the Far East.

The great imperialist powers, especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of the Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat above all the greatest danger of common intervention of the imperialist powers against the U. S. S. R., the world proletarian fatherland.

A new world war becomes an immediate danger. The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all, the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against the new imperialist war and in defense of the Chinese people, and to build an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union. The central task of the C. P. U. S. A. is to struggle against the new imperialist war and above all to work most devotedly and courageously to mobilize the working class in defense of the Soviet Union. The struggle against American imperialism, its war preparations and intervention plans must be the center of the every-day work of the Party among the masses; in the factories, trade unions, in strikes, among the unemployed, Negroes, youth and women. Only by the ability to rally and organize the masses to struggle for their immediate demands and against the war danger, as the most outstanding menace for the working class, can the Party come before the masses, and must come before them, as their revolutionary vanguard—the most conscious, most devoted and best organized elements among them.

II. THE CLASS STRUGGLES OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE SOCIAL FASCISTS

The further development of the crisis, the bankruptcy of the various illusions spread among the masses by the bourgeoisie, the increasing poverty and misery of the working masses and the immediate danger of war and intervention—all these factors form the

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basis for the increasing discontent and radicalization of the great masses of workers. The furious offensive of the bourgeoisie is met by increasing resistance on the part of the working class. This has already expressed itself recently in the increasing strike struggles (the doubling of the number of striking workers in 1931 as compared with 1930), in the increasing militancy of the unemployed (national hunger march, Scottsboro, the unemployed in Chicago and Cleveland, in the movement against the policy and leadership of the American Federation of Labor, trade union bureaucracy (building trades, etc.), in the increase in the number of communist votes in several important cities: San Francisco, Lawrence, Salt Lake City, mining towns, etc.) and in numerous militant mass demonstrations against war and in defense of the Soviet Union.

In this situation American social fascism (American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party, particularly the Muste wing, with the Lovestone-Cannon renegades) are greatly increasing their activity to carry out the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, trying, by establishing the most skillful, deceptive division of work, to divert the radicalized workers from the class struggle against the offensive of the capitalists, to split the ranks of the workers and to bring about their defeat. This confronts the Communist Party with the task of increasing, sharpening and improving its fight against social-fascism, as the main enemy in the struggle for the successful mobilization of the masses in the fight against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor are collaborating most brutally and actively with the bourgeoisie in its imperialist policy, at home and abroad, to carry through wage cuts, to check the development of the strike movement, etc. They cynically declare themselves against unemployment insurance, and for the Hoover stagger plan. They actively support jim-crowism and lynching of Negroes, and the deportation of foreign born workers, and form a part of the apparatus for suppressing the struggle of the workers by force and violence. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor (Green, Woll and Company) are the most jingoistic tools of the imperialists, working hand in hand with the war department in the bloody oppression of the colonial peoples. The American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, together with the Civic Federation, the common policy of which is symbolized by Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and acting president of the Civic Federation) are particularly fierce in their hatred of the Soviet Union and shout loudest for attacks and intervention.

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The Socialist Party which formerly worshipped at the shrine of "Hoover prosperity" and removed the phrase "class struggle" from its platform, is now resorting more and more to the use of "Left" demagogy and socialist phraseology in order to fool the radicalized workers. It supports the American Federation of Labor in its strike-breaking policy, and the leaders of the trade unions under S. P. control are daily carrying through a strike-breaking policy (A. C. W., I. L. G. W. U., etc.). It carries on sham propaganda for social insurance in order to keep the workers away from widespread mass struggles, which alone can win social insurance. It supports the measures and proposals of the national and local governments against the unemployed and in Reading and Milwaukee, which are under Socialist administrations, the same policy is being carried out, as in cities which are controlled by the Republican and Democratic Parties. Under cover of phrases about "nationalization of the mines," they carry on the policy of the mine operators, the government and the Lewis machine for the rationalization of the mines and to lower the standard of living of the miners, and to hold back the miners from struggle under the leadership of the National Miners Union. Under the banner of pacifism they are trying to keep the masses from fighting against war, and support the war policy of the Hoover government, League of Nations, disarmament swindle, war debts, Laval visit, etc. The Socialist Party is a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union. It openly supports the counter-revolutionary white guards (Hillquit). Under the guise of sympathy for the Soviet Union, it is attempting to undermine the increasing sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union by presenting the American bourgeois dictatorship as a real democracy in contrast to the proletarian democracy of the Soviet Union, which it represents as a reign of dictatorship which should be "democratized" and by this they come forward as representatives of the interests of those who want the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The Muste wing of social fascism, which also includes the various renegades, Slutsky, Lore, Cannon, Lovestone, is playing a particularly dangerous role in this situation, trying to hold back the most radicalized workers from genuine struggle against the capitalist offiensive under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. While talking about the "deepening of the crisis and mass misery" they are trying at the same time to secure the leadership of the developing struggles of the workers in order to disorganize the workers' ranks and lead them to defeat, helping the employers to put through the most vicious wage cuts (hosiery workers). Where the workers inside

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the A. F. of L. are trying to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive in spite of and over the heads of the A. F. of L. leaders (Green, Woll and Company) the Musteites with their "Left" democracy, step forward to "lead" these struggles in order to bring about the defeat of the workers, to liquidate genuine opposition movements, to strengthen the position of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and to prevent the development of class consciousness among the workers. While they weep about the misery of the unemployed workers, the Musteites stand on the same platform as the Socialist Party. They are opposed to the demands of the unemployed and in practice carry through the Hoover-Green unemployment program in the unions. In order to divert the growing class consciousness and desire for class organization shown by large sections of the working masses and sidetrack it into the camp of bourgeois ideology and influence, the Musteites are bringing the agitation for a labor party into the foreground. For the same purpose the Musteites utter meaningless demagogic phrases against Hillquit, Thomas and Company, and even speak of forming a new "genuine, realistic, militant, revolutionary left party," in an effort to prevent the movement of the masses towards the Communist Party, against which they concentrate all their struggles. The Musteites are particularly subtle in helping the capitalists in their war preparations, aimed primarily against the Soviet Union. They see the leftward move of the workers and the growing popularity of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Therefore they are carrying on their policy of undermining its growing influence under the guise of support for the Soviet Union. Therefore, they together with Lovestone-Brandlerites and Cannon-Trotskyites, carry on their counter-revolutionary agitation against the policy of the policy of the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They attempt to prevent the mobilization of the masses against the war danger by declaring that there is no such war danger and that "the sharpening of the crisis furnishes the guarantee against imperialist war and attack on the Soviet Union."

III. THE SITUATION OF THE C. P. U. S. A. AND ITS URGENT TASKS

The radical turn towards revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the American proletariat, which has been demanded by the E. C. C. I. in its resolutions and directives, has up till now essentially not been carried through in practice. Although the Party has recognized the necessity of this turn, and although the Party can show a number of successes in the attempt to carry out the turn in practice (strikes, Scottsboro, Hunger March), *the work of*

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the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove. This is to be seen in the backwardness of factory work and the building up of the lower Party organizations, in the weakness of the struggle for unemployment and social insurance, in the still extremely weak state of the revolutionary trade unions, in the extremely weak development of the work in the reformist trade unions, in the failure to carry out the required concentration on the four districts (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh), in the marked decline of the circulation of the *Daily Worker*; and in the 100 per cent fluctuation of Party membership. The Party is still isolated from the masses of workers and working women. It has not yet learned how to link up its every-day work with the systematic exposure of the bourgeois state and of the policy and demagogy of the open bourgeois and social-fascist parties. A special weakness of the Party is the absolutely inadequate fight against the social fascists, first of all, against the Muste group which, as the present strikes and the elections show, have increased their influence among the ranks of the workers. The Party has failed to bring the revolutionary way out of the crisis to the American workers, as it has also failed to popularize the victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The Party must definitely sharpen and broaden its struggles against social fascism and carry on a persistent struggle inside the Party against the underestimation of the role of and the fight against social fascism in the United States. The increasing influence of the social fascists in the United States during the crisis in contrast to the capitalist countries of Europe is undoubtedly due to a great extent to the inadequate exposure of the social fascists by the Party. The Party must also understand that as a result of the crisis and rationalization of large numbers of workers in the A. F. of L. are in the process of radicalization, and that the characterization of the masses of workers in the A. F. of L. as "labor aristocracy" is incorrect.

The chief obstacles which stood in the way of carrying out a correct mass policy and in the further development of the Party are the following:

1. The strong *sectarian tendencies* in the entire work of the Party, as well as in the mass organizations—tendencies which are based on a deeply rooted formalism. The Party carries through the policy of the united front in a rigid and formal way. It has not yet learned how to connect itself up firmly with the broad masses of non-Party and reformist workers, work in the old unions, to work on the basis of their concrete needs (general demands) and to draw up the demands together with them. Thus,

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the Party appears before the masses as a Party for the workers, but not the Party of the workers.

2. The bureaucratic methods of work, which are expressed in the "circular letter" method of leadership and in an excessive number of paid functionaries at the head of the Party and the auxiliary organizations, paralyzes the work of the lower Party organizations, and sidetracks them from genuine mass work on to "inner" Party and routine work, and hinders the development of cadres and the initiative of the lower organizations. The Party has not yet established collective leadership or genuinely functioning appatratus in the lower organizations, and has the tendency to conduct the work only through individual organizers.

In order to overcome sectarianism which constitutes the chief obstacle in the revolutionary mass work of the Party, the Party must carry on a consistent struggle against *right opportunism* as the main danger as well as against opportunism covered with "Left" phrases. Right opportunism was recently expressed in many places, for example, in the capitulation and conciliatory attitude towards Left social-fascists (Southern Illinois, Lawrence and Pickens).

The immediate central task of the Party is the mobilization of the masses in the struggle against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger, organizing the workers in broad united front struggles, in the preparation and carrying out of strike struggles, in movements against wage cuts and against forcing down of the living conditions of the workers, in the extension and intensification of the struggle of the unemployed for immediate relief, and for unemployment and social insurance, raising these struggles to the level of mighty class battles against U. S. imperialism.

In order that the Party be in a position to carry out these main tasks, it must give the most careful attention in all its work to the application of a correct mass policy. This correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggle of the workers, the working women and the young workers, on the basis of their immediate economic and political needs, as they arise from their life and work, and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc. This means, furthermore, that these struggles must be carried through on the basis of the activities of the masses, and that the tasks of the Communists are precisely to develop and organize this activity and initiative of the masses. This calls for the most concrete application of the united front from below in accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically, but on the basis of a careful analysis of the con-

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crete conditions of work and of struggle. This calls also for a greater activity in maneuvering against the social fascists and employers.

Inseparably linked up with and as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work, is persistent struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L. and against the Socialist Party, especially their left social-fascists (Musteites). In the A. F. of L., the Party must really start systematic and serious work to organize a widespread opposition under our leadership. The fact that the employers with the collaboration of the bureaucrats of the railroad unions could carry through a wage cut affecting one-half million railroad workers without the Party being able to develop any serious resistance, signalizes the ruinous results of our isolation from the workers in reformist unions. On the other hand, the success in the furriers' union and some of the building trades locals, etc., shows the possibility for developing mass influence in the reformist unions if we really start to work. In the press and in our meetings there must be a systematic unmasking of the proposals and transactions of the reformists.

In work among the unemployed the Party must concretize its daily work on the basis of the October resolution, and concentrate on the carrying through of the following tasks:

(a) The extension and further development of the campaign for *unemployment and social insurance*, linked up with thorough unmasking of the Hoover welfare plan, the various "relief plans" of the democrats and progressives, as well as of the socialists and Musteites.

(b) The greatest attention must be paid to strengthening and organization of the unemployed through widespread Councils of the Unemployed. Moreover, it is necessary to develop and organize broad active and stable cadres and to build up fractions in all unemployed organizations.

(c) Much greater attention must be given in the struggle against mass dismissals and also against the stagger plan. In this connection we must take into account the various spontaneous movements (anthracite miners, etc.) for "division of work" (spreading the available jobs among more workers). It must be our task to firmly take hold of these movements, to clearly and patiently explain to these workers that such division of work only aids the bourgeoisie to place the burden of the crisis on the workers in the form of the "stagger plan." In this way we must transform these spontaneous struggles into a struggle against the policy of the employers and for a minimum day's work, a minimum guaranteed weekly wage, against dismissals and for unemployment insurance.

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The radical improvement of the situation in the revolutionary trade union is the *key task* of the Party. The *red trade unions* have not yet recognized the fact that only by persistent work in the enterprises and by taking up all questions that confront the workers in connection with the offensive (reduction of wages and piece-work rates, increase in working hours, discrimination against the Negro workers, worsening conditions of women and young workers, etc.) is it possible to mobilize the masses and consolidate and expand their red union organizations. They have not yet realized that this is the correct preparatory work for strike struggles and still have the tendency of "waiting for strikes." Within the red trade unions there is not yet real trade union democracy and a narrow sectarian tendency exists with regard to the acceptance of members.

We must carry on systematic work in the reformist trade unions, not only where there is no red trade union (railway brotherhoods, building trades, etc.), but also where parallel red trade unions exist (mining, textile, etc.).

The Party is responsible that the resolutions on trade union work shall not remain on paper, but that immediate and effective organizational guarantees be created for carrying out this resolution and checking up on its application.

The *Daily Worker* must be made a Communist mass paper through a radical change in and improvement of its contents. This includes:

(1) Real popular presentation in detail of the living and working conditions of the workers, working women and youth in the factories and in their homes, giving a clear picture of the situation of the unemployed.

(2) Reacting to all political events and giving concrete guidance to the workers.

(3) Systematic unmasking of the workers' enemies and their plans and maneuvers.

(4) Greater popularization of the achievements of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.

(5) Building up a network of workers' correspondents.

(6) Popular make-up, pictures, attractiveness of articles, etc.

(7) All Party problems must be handled in such a way as to attract the interest of the working masses.

(8) A press commission must be established by the Central Committee consisting of employed and unemployed workers, who, in close contact with the editors, promote a live contact between the paper and the lives and fights of the workers.

The work of the *lower Party organizations* must be basically changed. Nine-tenths of all the work of the lower organizations

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must be concentrated directly *on the work among the masses*, and not as, at present, in countless inner meetings. The center of gravity must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, to the sections and units. The methods of leadership, assistance and of checking up on the work of the lower organizations by the higher organs must be a method of personal guidance in accordance with the special conditions of the given field of work, of the given enterprise and not simply the sending out of circulars. In all lower organizations, committees must be formed which actually work collectively, and a stop must be put to the state of affairs in which the work is concentrated in the hands of a few comrades.

The main basis of the work and development of the lower Party organizations is the work in the factory. Up till now the Party has not found the fit methods for carrying on this work. The content of this work is not merely organizational detail routine, but is the whole struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the policy of reformists. The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is *daily contact* with the mass of workers in it and *thorough knowledge* of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions for struggle. The Communists must firmly grasp all the countless conflicts of a minor and major character arising daily with the employers, foremen and trade union bureaucrats, spies, etc., such as disputes, incidents, demands and grievances of the workers, including the women and youth, discrimination against Negroes and foreign born, with regard to wages, hours of work, working conditions, rationalization measures, infringements of workers' rights, dismissals in case of arrests of workers, etc. It is the task of the Communists to investigate very carefully the causes of any failures in its efforts to penetrate the factories and to continue the work with renewed energy on the basis of carefully considered measures to overcome the previous shortcomings.

The Central Committee must cut down considerably its own apparatus as well as those of the District Committees and of the mass organizations, concentrating the forces thus released on the building up and further development of work in the most important industrial centers and big enterprises. The Central Committee must devote particularly careful attention to the development and proper utilization of Party cadres.

The Central Committee must take steps to carry through the directives of January, 1931, on concentration. The Central Committee must immediately give concrete form to these directives,

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selecting a certain number of big enterprises and locals in the respective districts and branches of industry, sending suitable forces there and systematically checking up the work in these points in conjunction with the District Committees. In the course of the next six months, a number of well-functioning lower organizations (sections and factory nuclei) must be built up as a result of this work. In carrying out this concentration the Party must not for an instant slacken its attention from important mass struggles wherever they may develop. The Party must take special measures to combat the spy danger and for carrying on work under semi-legal and illegal conditions.

The Party must pay special attention to work among the youth and to the situation of the Young Communist League, which despite certain growth is still in a very unsatisfactory condition and isolated from the young workers. The Party has not yet begun to carry out in a practice the directives of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. of May, 1931. concerning the Party's execution of the Eleventh Plenum decisions on the youth. These tasks must immediately be carried out together with sharp struggles against sectarianism and Right opportunism in the League and League leadership.

The first beginnings of mass work of the Party in the struggle *for Negro rights,* for uniting white and black workers in the struggle for their needs, and for leading the liberation struggle of the Negro masses, must be further improved and broadened by (a) popularization of the full Communist program on the Negro question in connection with the partial struggles on every-day demands and events, which must be intensified; (b) thorough popularization of the solution of the national question in the U. S. S. R., Socialist construction in the autonomous Soviet Republics, mobilizing the broad Negro masses for defense of the Soviet Union; (c) broadening the recruiting of Negro workers into the Party and trade unions, making red unions the real channels of Negro work; (d) a broad campaign within the Party as well as in the mass organizations against white chauvinism and all forms of jim-crow practices, ruthlessly exterminating within the Party, not only the open, but also the half-hidden and conciliatory forms; (e) carrying out some concrete measures guaranteeing the next half-year or year period for a real beginning of penetrating the Black Belt, building the Party and mass organizations (first of all, trade unions) for work among the Negroes in the Black Belt; (f) dramatization of the demand for equal rights as an outstanding issue of the election program.

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IV. TASKS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The election campaign this year is of most particular significance and must be utilized for the general extension and intensification of the activity of the Party and for the intensification and widening of class struggles against the capitalist offensive and the war danger, especially against the danger of intervention against the U. S. S. R.

The main slogan for the Party election campaign must be the demand for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers. Placing in the center of the mass election work the immediate demands of the workers and toilers in factories, bread lines, unemployed gatherings, in towns, the Party must on this basis present concretely and popularly to the broad working masses its program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. In exposing the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, the Party must make clear to the workers that only through the revolutionary class struggle, fighting for the program and supporting the candidates of the Communist Party, can workers counteract the attacks of the bourgeoisie and protect and secure their immediate demands and prepare the ground for the further advance of the working class interests.

Under no circumstances must the Party fail to expose and combat in the sharpest manner Hoover's hunger regime. At the same time it is necessary to thoroughly unmask the demagogy of the democrats as well as of the republican "progressives," who are attempting to utilize for their own ends the ever-increasing mass opposition to Hoover. On the basis of concrete facts, we must show that the democrats as well as the "progressives," once in power, will do as little as Hoover to alleviate mass poverty, as can be seen already in a large number of states and municipalities and their collaboration with the Hoover government (senate, congress, etc.). We must prove that they will force through the same degrading charity system and wage cuts, with the same terror as applied by the regular republicans.

The sharpest struggle against social fascism during the elections is of the greatest importance. Without detracting the attention to the slightest degree from the struggle against the republicans and democrats as pointed out above, the *chief attention* must be directed to unmasking and combatting the socialists and the Muste crowd. This also includes a consistent unmasking of their demagogic theory about state capitalism, gradual "transition into Socialism" through "nationalization" projects of the mines, railroads, etc.

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The main slogans which the Party must put forward are:

(1) *Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.*

(2) Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy.

(3) Emergency relief without restrictions by the government and banks for the poor farmers; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of debts.

(4) Equal rights for the Negroes, and self-determination for the Black Belt.

(5) Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.

(6) Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party must concretely unmask the efforts of the bourgeoisie to find a capitalist way out of the crisis (their promise of complete employment, a new period of prosperity, etc., if wage cuts are carried out, if the banks are saved, if higher tariffs are introduced, if industry is further trustified, if the imperialist positions for American capitalism are strengthened, their promises with regard to the abandonment of graft and corruption in American politics, etc.). The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be widely popularized, including a systematic and thorough exposure of the mere phrases about "Socialism" used by the socialists. The Communist Party must fully utilize the example of victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union as against the capitalist countries which are going deeper and deeper into the mire of economic crisis, exposing the empty talk of planned production under capitalism. The Party must contrast the revolutionary way out, concretely, to the proposals of each bourgeois party, especially the "Left" social fascists. The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be concretized by showing the masses how a revolutionary workers' government — a United States of America — would, through the nationalization of the means of production, railroads, commerce, etc., by taking them from the hands of the big exploiters and placing them in the hands of the workers' state, immediately eliminate unemployment by starting the machinery of production at full speed, producing the commodities needed by the masses; how it can at once make available to the starving workers the full stores of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing now withheld from the workers; how it can solve the pressing problems of housing; solve the needs of the toiling farmers; guarantee full equality for the Negroes, carry out a peace policy of the proletarian state as exampled by the Soviet Union in contrast to all imperialist powers, etc. In addition to the above, which are the main national de-

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mands, concrete demands must be put forward in every city and state corresponding to the needs of the masses.

Throughout the campaign *every statement and every proposal* of the enemy parties must be quickly answered in the Party press and in millions of leaflets. Special care must be taken to guard against and to answer surprise statements, such as forged documents, "bomb plots," etc. "Not a mass meeting during the election campaign without Communists"—must be our slogan; at all mass meetings arranged by the bourgeois parties the Communists should appear; expose the position of the enemies and make clear the position of the Party—distribute their literature; debates should be organized with the enemy candidates in order to expose their demagogy and to reach the workers under their influence with the demands and program of the Communist Party. The Communist Party itself should organize thousands of meetings—great city-wide meetings as heretofore, neighborhood meetings, and especially small meetings in the workers' homes where our program should be explained and the workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign. Leaflets of many kinds, posters, dealing with the proposals of the enemy parties, with the conditions of the workers in the various industries, with our demands, etc., should be issued in larger quantities than ever before; pamphlets to be sold at the lowest prices.

Of particular importance at this time, due to increased activity of the social-fascists, to their propaganda for a "Labor Party," etc., is the widest use of the united front in the election campaign. *Prior to the National Nominating Convention, and as a means of* providing a broad mass basis for it, local united front conferences should be held of representatives from the revolutionary trade unions, the trade union opposition, workers and working women and youth from the factories, supporting A. F. of L. locals, unemployed councils and committees, workers' fraternal organizations, Negro organizations, etc., which should endorse the Communist Party election program, agree to support its candidates, elect delegates to the nominating convention, and set up a broad workers' committee for the carrying on of the campaign together with the Party organization. At still wider local conferences following the national convention, local, county and state programs and candidates of the Party should be endorsed. In specific cases militant non-Party workers, who have actively participated in the unemployed and strike struggles or otherwise shown their stand for the class struggle and against the reformists, can be accepted and endorsed as candidates by the Party fractions in these conferences with the approval of the District Committee of the Party. Care must be taken to prevent "Left" reformist elements from making use of such conferences for the struggle against the Party and its candidates.

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The Role of American Finance Capital in the Present Crisis

By HARRY GANNES

INFLATION, growing out of the process that led up to the passage of the Glass-Steagall Bill, is but one of the series of powerful weapons that the American finance oligarchy is using against the masses, and the weaker sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, to try get out of the crisis through a further transference of the burdens upon the backs of the toiling masses, to strengthen its position in the struggle for world financial and imperialist supremacy, and for the coming war.

Very soon after the passage of the Glass-Steagall Bill, one of whose measures provides for the setting aside of over $780,000,000 additional in free gold for the financial tussle with France, British imperialism served notice that in the intensified world financial struggle it, too, would play a leading role. The action of British capitalism opens up the road which capitalism intends to travel more decisively in the future in an effort to lift itself out of the crisis.

The general features of the present credit crisis of world capitalism, which in the United States is now entering an acute form, were pointed out by Comrade Nauman in Vol. IX, No. 1, of the *Communist International*. The main points in this analysis were:

1. The late outbreak of the credit crisis due to the high development of monopoly during the pre-war period, with the increasing of the power of the leading clique of the finance oligarchy which, through its monopolist manipulations, was able to transfer the burdens of the crisis at each stage upon the masses, weaker sections of the bourgeoisie and upon the colonial countries. This was accomplished through the power of the monopolies, their control of the price of important commodities; fusion with the state apparatus, and the use of the state financial resources to aid the dominant clique of finance capital to make huge profits at the expense of ruining tens of thousands of small farmers, petty-bourgeoisie and small industrialists. This leads to the further rapid enrichment of the big bourgeoisie at the expense of mass impoverishment.

2. The use of the state by the financial oligarchy in an effort to defer the full effects of the fast maturing credit crisis through support to monopoly prices (grains through Federal Farm Board, oil, steel, railroad rates, etc.), thereby transferring additional burdens to the masses. State support to bankrupt banks and utilities.

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3. The changed composition in the character of credit; the rapid growth of short-term credit in relation to long term credit, signifying the growing instability of the whole capitalist credit structure, further intensifying the credit crisis, and opening the way to the colossal development of speculation, swindling, manipulation by the leading finance capitalists.

4. Inflation through currency devaluation, a further weapon in the hands of finance capital in its struggle to seek a way out of the crisis by the wholesale transferring of gigantic burdens on the toiling and petty-bourgeois masses.

5. There develops along with this an unprecedented struggle of the finance oligarchies of the most powerful imperialist states between themselves around the question of, who shall profit most from the collapse? Who can plunder the world most, and who shall carry the heaviest burdens of the crisis?

CREDIT CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, the advance of the credit crisis showed itself in the huge number of bank failures, over 2,000 in 1931, with $1,500,000,000 involved; and around 500 in the first two months of 1932. This was connected with repeated stock market crashes, wholesale decline in bond values, threatened bankruptcy of all the leading railroads, the loss of around $10,000,000,000 in real estate mortgage bond values, and the great amount of hoarding of currency.

All the efforts of the big capitalists in the United States to halt the advance of the crisis, though they deferred it temporarily, delaying its sharp expression, resulted in wide failures of the smaller banks and in spreading the crisis to larger fields. It laid the basis for the more drastic expression of the credit crisis which is now beginning to manifest itself.

In the meantime, the leading financiers who were covering up the real extent of the credit crisis and the danger to the gold standard, due to the rapid progression of the basic economic crisis, the wholesale financial crashes in the colonies, the collapse of the Young Plan in Germany, the British financial crisis, the huge bank failures in the United States and hoarding, which then led to heavy gold withdrawals from the United States, decided upon a policy of inflation in the interest of the controlling group of the American finance oligarchy. They hesitated, faltered in taking this path. It meant new problems and new dangers for them. Inflation meant undermining one of the main pillars of capitalist credit, but the crisis forced the step, which the leading bankers then utilized in their interest against the weaker elements of capitalism, and against the

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toiling masses. As one capitalist newspaper, speaking for Morgan and Co., expressed it, it meant injecting a little poison into the credit system, but poison was sometimes necessary.

The leading group of bankers and financial institutions, represented such as Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., National City Bank, the Guarantee Trust Corp., the First National Bank of New York, the First National Bank of Chicago, Bank of Manhattan Trust Co., the Chase National Bank, and the Bankers Trust Co., though they have sharp conflicts between them (based on the danger to their various interests, some being heavily interested in German investments; some in railroads and steel; some in real estate mortgages, etc.), are not only interwined with the state apparatus, but during the present crisis have strongly increased their control and dominant position in the state, not only nationally but in the various states, counties and municipalities.

The sharp credit crisis which threatened wholesale bankruptcies of the big railroads, banks, insurance companies, brokerage houses, real estate corporations, based on the continuation and worsening of the crisis in the basic industries, led to the open adoption of the policy of inflation.

This was decided upon in secret conference in the White House under the guidance of the representatives of these banks, acting through Ogden Mills, secretary of the treasury, and Eugene Meyer, head of the Federal Reserve system, both closely connected with Morgan & Co. The decision was made for inflation. The leading politicians were called in to ratify this measure, which they did without murmur, and the measure was put through Congress with practically no discussion, almost as an emergency decree.

The latest inflation measures, together with the terrific tax burdens proposed for the masses, along with a new wave of wage-cutting, come as a drastic effort of the leading capitalists to overcome the crisis by the most concerted drive against the standard of living of the American workers yet made.

Up to the present time, the capitalist ress seeks to hide the inflationary nature of the Glass-Steagall Bill, decreed by Wall Street. But an examination of the capitalist press in the early stages of the adoption of the Glass-Steagall bill shows quite clearly that the capitalists realized the full extent of the inflation, but sought to hide the nature of the measure from the masses. It is necessary to quote only the following from the Hoover-supporting, Morgan-controlled, *New York Evening Post*, which on February 11, 1932, said:

> "The bill increases the spread of securities eligible to rediscount, making them available as collateral for Federal Reserve notes. This increase in currency circulation is limited to a year. It is said

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that it may amount to $2,500,000,000. . . .

"'This bill,' said Senator Vandenberg, 'means, in plain terms, more money. . . . Its effect will be to bring the price of the dollar down and bring the commodity price index up. . . .'

"We dislike very much to see the United States come to it. But we do not on that account shut our minds to the knowledge that even a poison, discreetly applied, is sometimes a relief if not a remedy."

INFLATION AND THE GLASS-STEAGALL BILL

The Glass-Steagall Bill, which is the main lever for the inflation process, contains the following provisions:

1. It permits the federal reserve system to use government bonds as 60 per cent backing for currency issues, instead of the highest grade of eligible commercial paper, thereby opening up wide inflation. These bonds under the Federal Reserve Act could not be formerly used as backing for the issuance of paper money. Besides the government bonds there is still supposed to be 40 per cent gold backing. Explaining this process, Lewis Haney, director of the New York University Bureau of Business Research, says: "The government trades its bonds for bank notes, and bank notes are issued on government bonds, without any relation to business activity or requirements." In short, the issuance of government bonds amounts in reality to the issuance of paper currency to 60 per cent the value of the bonds. Also by this means the "free gold" holding —that is gold not applied to money issued or to secure deposits— is increased from $420,000,000 to $1,200,000,000. In practice this means that $780,000,000 in gold has been withdrawn as backing for the existing paper currency to be used for the international finance battle of Wall Street.

2. Any group of five federal reserve banks, all of which face bankruptcy, and whose assets are "frozen," may join together to receive loans from the Federal Reserve Bank, based on their "frozen credits." This credit is then used as the basis for the issuance of further paper money, or as Dr. Edward S. Mead, Professor of Finance of the Wharton School of Finance explained it "They (the banks) can now turn this credit into Federal Reserve notes, to be used to strengthen their cash position and to re-establish their confidence among their depositors by promptly meeting all demands." Also, other banks whose capital does not exceed $5,000,000 can individually apply for such loans.

It is obvious from the above that the inflation to the utmost extent is opened up by the measures of the Glass-Steagall Bill. The government can issue bonds freely as the big bankers require greater inflation. The bankrupt banks can turn their "frozen as-

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sets" into paper money with which they pay depositors. The leading financiers thereby transfer and unload their frozen assets onto the masses in the form of inflated money.

TAXATION—NEW BURDENS FOR THE WORKERS

Finance capital is preparing other attacks against the masses in an effort to get out of the crisis. Besides inflation, a new taxation policy has already been worked out by the leading bankers, with the full support of the Democratic and Republican political leaders. Though the tax bill is proposed by the Democrats it has the full support of Wall Street. Its spokesmen in the Treasury Department of the Hoover government, Ogden Mills, declaring that the new tax measure is designed to raise an additional $1,240,000,000, says, "The committee's program has the approval of the Treasury Department and will receive its hearty support."

The tax is constructed as part of the policy of the financial oligarchy to throw greater burdens on the masses, especially the workers, though a large section of the petty-bourgeoisie and the higher paid office workers and managerial staff of capitalism is also hit. There are three provisions which directly concern the masses, which form the backbone of the new tax measure. They are:

(1) A two and one-fourth per cent sales tax on most commodities "except necessities." The necessities consist of food, but these commodities will be taxed through taxes on other commodities necessary in their manufacture, preparation and transportation.[1]

(2) Reduction of income tax exemptions from $3,500 for a married person, to $2,500, and for a single person, from $1,500 to $1,000. By this means income taxes are spread over nearly every worker who still maintains a job and earns around $20 a week.

(3) Increase in amusement tax; tax on telephone and telegraph; gasoline, malt syrups, etc.

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[1] On March 24, since the above was written, the manufacturers' sales tax as formulated in the original tax bill, was defeated by a vote of 223 to 153 in the House of Representatives. A very sharp demagogic struggle developed, expressing the growing mass pressure and the resistance of the petty-bourgeoisie to the new tax burdens. However, new tax measures are being prepared, which, under different names are aimed to reach the same ends, with the support of the so-called insurgents. The Mellon tax bill, which is just as drastic as the original sales tax, was introduced.

Speaking for Hoover, the Chicago lawyer-banker, Silas H. Strawn declared: "Whatever form the tax legislation takes we have got to balance the budget. . . . It is useless to try to raise revenue by taxing the rich because there are not any rich."

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To counter-balance these drastic attacks on the living standard of the workers, farmers and petty-bourgeoisie (which are intended to get the greater part of the deficit) some provisions are made for increase in surtax on incomes over $100,000, increase in estate tax, and a "gift tax." But with the treasury habit of making "tax rebates" to the extent of millions, and with the big bourgeoisie given all opportunities to doctor their "profit leases" and "incomes," no extra burdens will be put on the big bourgeoisie.

The petty-bourgeois demagogs, realizing the drastic effect these taxes will have on the masses, have already opened up an attack on them, and are attempting to take the leadership in the struggle against the tax burdens as a lever for the formation of a third "liberal" capitalist party. The *World-Telegram* (March 7, 1932) printed two editorials on this subject, one appearing in bold type on the front page. This editorial said:

> "There is a storm brewing in this country, and wise politicians will keep close watch of its progress.
>
> "The American people have stood about all they can.
>
> "The new tax bill comes pretty near being that proverbial last straw.
>
> "It is a sorry state of affairs when people whose wages or incomes have been greatly reduced must dig down into their pockets for more cash. . . ."

Another leading editorial in the same paper goes on to say:

> "Such a sales tax is unjust because most of the weight falls on the rank-and-file consumers. It is especially unjust when upward of one-fifth of the population are the victims of unemployment and additional millions are on part-time employment or drastically reduced wages."

IMPERIALISM'S "WAY OUT" OF CRISIS

All these measures are part of the financial oligarchy's program of seeking a drastic way out of the crisis through a thoroughgoing attack against the toiling masses. The crisis itself has strengthened the hand of finance capital within the bourgeois state, as shown by their ability to put through every conceivable measure designed to help monopoly capital. The process referred to by Lenin in *Imperialism* has been immeasurably speeded up. Lenin said:

> "A financial oligarchy, imposing an infinite number of financial ties of dependence upon all the economic and political institutions of contemporary capitalist society without exception—such is the striking manifestation of this monopoly." Lenin goes on further to write:

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> "It is known in general how much monopolist capital has deepened all the inherent contradictions of capitalism. It is enough to mention the high cost of living and the yoke of the trusts. This deepening of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the definite victory of finance-capital."

Comrade Stalin in the early stages of the crisis, characterized the role of imperialism in seeking to get out of the crisis by piling up the huge burdens on the backs of the masses. Speaking at the Sixteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, Stalin said:

> "Present-day capitalism, as distinguished from older capitalism is *monopolistic* capitalism, and this renders inevitable the struggle of capitalist organizations to maintain high monopolist prices of commodities in spite of over-production. Obviously, this circumstance, which makes the crisis particularly torturing and ruinous for the mass of people, who are the basic consumers of commodities, cannot but lead to the dragging out of the crisis, cannot but retard its dissipation."

FINANCE CAPITAL'S GREATER GRIP ON THE STATE APPARATUS

Closer fusion of the financial magnates, the leading group of big bank monopolists, takes place not only with the central state apparatus, but is more closely intertwined with the state governments and the municipal governments, especially in the leading industrial centers. The result is that the policy of finance capital becomes the dominant program from the most detailed city legislation, affecting the distribution of the few pennies of city relief, up to the major policies of war and government finance.

The role of finance capital in connection with the city governments is clearly shown in the events of the past two years, especially in Detroit, Chicago and New York. In Detroit, the "liberal" Mayor Murphy, who was elected on the most demagogic program of "relief" for the unemployed, with a dash of "hostility" to the "big financial interests," becomes the tool of finance capital. Mayor Murphy, in order to obtain huge loans from Wall Street and Chicago banks, agrees to the complete program of the bankers in regard to relief. Relief is severely cut down. City expenditures are to be under the strict scrutiny of the bankers and $30,000,000, which is available for relief, is carefully hoarded by Murphy so that the bankers may be assured of their share of the city graft. The policy of finance capital is the guiding star of the Murphy regime. It resulted in the brutal murder of four unemployed

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workers and the wounding of over 35 at a Hunger March to the Ford plant in River Rouge on Monday, March 7.

In New York City, Tammany Hall has always been closely aligned with Wall Street. However, Tammany Hall did maintain an independent status as a marauder, maintaining the right to the tribute of a large sphere of graft, the right to distribute its largess among its retainers. This was all within the unity of Tammany Hall with Wall Street. The crisis has forced Tammany Hall even closer organically to the immediate will of Wall Street, and putting the more direct policy of finance capital into operation through the instrument of Tammany Hall.

Early in the year, Tammany Hall requested a loan of $90,000,000 for the city of New York, from the leading Wall Street bankers. The consortium from which this loan was to come consisted of the dominant financial monopolies in the United States, namely, Morgan & Company, Kuhn, Loeb & Company, National City Bank, the Guaranty Trust Company, the First National Bank, Bank of Manhattan Trust Company, The Chase National, the Bankers Trust Company. Tammany Hall had proposed a program of "home relief bureaus" with a fund of $20,000,000, most of which, as the Seabury investigation showed, was to go out in graft or for "relief" of Tammany henchmen and supporters. However, this powerful group of bankers took the opportunity of the financial stringency of Tammany Hall to demand a more complete and detailed adherence to the policy of Wall Street.

A statement issued by Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Company, after consultation with Charles E. Mitchell, head of the National City Bank, very crudely exposes the role of finance capital in determining the policies of federal, state, and municipal governments, especially as these programs effect the distribution and allotment of unemployment relief, public works, taxes, and city owned public utilities. The statement says:

> "The New York City, like the national government, and other large governmental bodies and corporations, must undertake measures of strict economy, and, especially in these times, must proceed on a more restrained and orderly development of its construction program; must make every effort, wherever possible, to transform existing enterprises which today are not self-supporting into ones that carry themselves, and thus take a heavy burden off the city's budget.

The last point about "existing enterprises" refers to city utilities in which the big bankers have billions in bonds, and for which they demand higher rates in fares, etc., so that they can raise their profits at the expense of the workers.

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In Chicago, under the Thompson as well as the Cermak regime, the power of finance capital is more and more gripping the minutest detail of city administration, affecting the workers' life in the smallest particular. In Chicago the crisis of the city government took an especially severe form, thanks to wholesale graft and the unusually corrupt gangster-ridden regime. The control of the big banks in Chicago over the local government, especially the banks lined up with the most powerful monopolist groups, with men like Charles G. Dawes and Melvin Traylor at the head, is admitted quite openly. Thus the Chicago correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, Michael W. Straus (March 5, 1932) writes:

> "A consortium of trade and finance is usurping power from politicians as a result of Chicago's "taxpayer's strike, in an effort to save the city from bankruptcy.
>
> "A group of bank presidents, department store heads and chiefs of manufacturing companies, without legal charter of any kind, has grabbed legislative and administrative authority with scarcely a protest from the regular office-holders, who confess their lack of ability to deal with the situation."

WORLD FINANCIAL STRUGGLE

Through all these measures as a way out of the crisis through intensified drives against the standards of living of the American workers, American finance capital is girding itself for the struggle for world financial hegemony and for war. It is of especial importance that in the week that the Glass-Steagall measure was passed, in an effort to release a great gold supply for the world imperialist struggle, Great Britain made a surprise move. The British treasury announced to Wall Street that it would repay to the United States $150,000,000 of the $200,000,000 loan obtained to bolster up the British gold standard. The British financial magnates were able to obtain this huge sum from two sources: (1) From draining India of a large amount of gold, reflecting the struggle to transfer greater burdens upon the colonial masses; and (2) by the heavy wage cuts put over on the British workers, together with the severe cut in the unemployment insurance payments. The latter achievement was due to the service of the Labor government in helping British imperialism put through its wage cut and employment dole cut measures. The action of British imperialism is typical of the measures all the imperialist powers will use more and more in preparation for the sharper stage of the world financial battle.

Despite the fact that the credit crisis in Great Britain dealt the British bankers a severe blow, the British imperialists are again gathering their forces for a bitter struggle. A Paris dispatch to the *New York Evening Post* (March 5, 1932) indicated that the British still

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consider themselves in the front ranks in the financial battle. The dispatch said:

> "London continues preeminent as the financial center for international finance and there is little possibility that Paris will usurp the position which has been occupied for so many years by the metropolis of Great Britain.

The more determined intervention of finance capital in the attempt to deflect the credit crisis is deferring its maturity. For the moment there has been a slight let-up in bank failures; the full force of bankruptcies of the large industries, railroads has been delayed at the expense of inflation, huge government expenditures in the interest of the big bourgeoisie (Finance Reconstruction Corporation with its $2,000,000,000 "dole" to the railroads and other industries) have given the capitalists an opportunity to pay dividends and profits, the burden for which will be thrown on to the toiling masses. All this, while temporary delaying the full force of the credit crisis, lays the basis for a worse financial collapse through the artificial delay, through the spreading over of the "frozen assets," through the propping up of bankrupt enterprises, through the process of pyramiding credit on the basis of worthless paper, through inflation and the growing deficit in the government budget. Meanwhile, basically, the economic crisis, the severe curtailment of production in the basic industries, the growth of unemployment grows worse, and with the interconnection of the worsening financial crisis, the future perspectives point to a more drastic drive of the capitalists to end the crisis through an attack against the workers and through war.

CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL AND ATTACKS ON WORKERS

The attack against the workers takes the form of more sweeping wage cuts, speed-up, greater mass unemployment, cutting down of the meager relief, attacks against the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party, and a unified policy of the whole bourgeoisie to lower costs of production through a permanent lowering of the standard of living of the American workers. On the other hand, finance capital is seeking to strengthen itself amid the wreckage, seeking to consolidate its position; seeking to further intensify its monopolist position.

The financial expert of the *New York Times*, Eugene M. Lokey, after a survey of Wall Street financiers, expressed the further trustification movement growing out of the crisis, as follows (March 6, 1932):

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"Some of the larger financial houses have asked and answered the question: 'What appears to be the next step in the Washington Administration's effort to hasten the economic recovery?' The composite guess is that a plan looking to liberalization of the anti-trust law will be offered soon under strong sponsorship. And Wall Street—to quote one of the advocates of revision—'visualizes major benefits to a number of industries through a change in the Sherman anti-trust act.' The petroleum industry is cited as the chief beneficiary of any amendment of the law, the thought being, apparently, that projects of mergers of Standard Oil companies will be expedited and that compacts to limit production will be encouraged. . . .

"In short, Wall Street believes—to judge by the comment—that modification of the anti-trust laws must be included as an essential part of any well rewarded program to resuscitate business and industry."

For the workers this process goes on with a concerted effort to smash down their standard of living, as this mass impoverishment is the necessary base for the consolidation of finance capital out of the present crisis. The program of attack against the working class has already been theorized by some of the leading bourgeois economists, into a principle, an absolutely necessary path out of the crisis for capitalism. The most rabid expression of this view comes from the "liberal" economist, Dr. Willford I. King, professor of economics at New York University. The professor, voicing the program of finance capital, puts the matter bluntly—wages must be slashed mercilessly, hours must be increased, the workers must be exploited to an intense degree as the only guarantee for capitalism pulling itself out of the present crisis. Dr. King's own words follow (*Herald-Tribune*, March 6, 1932):

"It follows that the present adverse situation would be greatly improved if, instead of lessening the number of hours in the working week, the weekly working time were increased materially with no corresponding increase in the total weekly wage. Paradoxical as it seem, if this plan were generally adopted, unemployment would probably disappear as if by magic and the depression would soon be a matter of history. . . .

"It appears then, that one effective way of eliminating unemployment is to cut the hourly wage rate while lengthening the hours of unemployment sufficiently to raise the average weekly pay above the present level."

The professor, of course, is merely stating in a general way what the capitalists are already carrying out in practice—namely, the continued lowering of wages and the increase of hours, along with the most intensive speed-up. In this there will be no magic disappearance of unemployment, but even with a material rise in production, there will be a drastic cut in the number of workers per unit of output.

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We have many indications that the bourgeoisie realize that production increases, if they come, will not mean an increase in the number of workers employed, but will proceed with a process of intense speed-up. The following from the *New York Times* of March 16, 1932, besides expressing the pessimism of the capitalists (which leads them to greater and more ferocious attacks against the workers), admits increased production does not mean decreased unemployment:

> "Members of the financial community who have comforted themselves throughout the last two and one-half years by the thought that every former down-swing of the economic cycle has been succeeded by an upswing of greater proportions than any previously witnessed are beginning these days to be tormented by doubts as to history's capacity for repetition. This faltering of faith springs mainly from two causes: the long delay in settling the international debt problem and the difficulty presented by the increased mechanical improvements in industry. *Industrialists report that in many lines of manufacture such technical improvements have been made in the last two years that even with a restoration of 1929 volume it would be impossible to employ the same number of workers.*

In a more concrete fashion, the capitalists are preparing more drastic wage cuts, and indications are that another 10 per cent wage slash is being prepared in the steel industry, to be followed by mass wage cuts for the entire working class.

The new stages of the crisis, the open action of the big imperialists with the new measures of smashing down the standard of living of the American workers, is opening the eyes of the masses as to the true role and function of imperialism, especially in the period of crisis, of war and revolution.

In the cities, where finance capital determines the most minute role of the city governments, insists not only on national suppressive measures, but in such actions of murder as the Ford-Murphy regime exhibit in Detroit, we must more and more expose the whole nature of imperialism to the workers, using the concrete examples of the federal government action in supporting the big bankers and refusing relief for the unemployed; in the huge war expenditures; in the inflationary process, the huge tax burdens, etc.

In attempting to get out of the crisis American imperialism is making the most drastic attack upon the American workers, as well as preparing for the international struggle leading to war, especially war against the Soviet Union—a continuation and a part of the policy of Wall Street of attacking the standard of living of the American masses, of increasing the power and role of finance capital in every branch of the capitalist state.

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SHARPER CLASS BATTLES

Thus we see a pyramiding of the burdens of the crisis by finance capital in the form of greater wage cuts, heavier taxation, more intensive exploitation, and a general, drastic lowering of the standard of living of the masses. The monopolist control of prices, and the inflationary moves to keep up and raise prices while wage cuts continue to sweep on, with greater tax burdens for the toiling population, must be answered by more intensive resistance of the workers. The refusal of unemployment insurance, and the cutting down of the meager relief, are all part of the capitalist's efforts to shift on the effects of the crisis. The greater taxation policy is a direct outgrowth of the intensive war preparations, the massive armament race which Hoover and Stimson declared would follow the growth of the imperialist rivalries in the Far East and in the preparation for war against the Soviet Union. This heavy burden of armaments which in the time of crisis grows greater than ever before, the capitalists seek to make the workers pay through heavier tax levies. The capitalists insist that the impoverished masses pay for the organization of the gigantic armed forces that will be used to slaughter off millions of workers in the imperialists' attempt to get out of the crisis by war.

The outcome, as Comrade Stalin points out, will be greater resistance of the workers to the onslaughts of the capitalists. Speaking at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party, Comrade Stalin said:

"There have been laid bare and sharpened the *contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat* in the capitalist countries. The crisis has already had time to intensify the pressure of the capitalists on the working class. The crisis has already had time to produce a new wave of capitalist rationalization, a new deterioration of the position of the working class, the growth of unemployment, the extension of the army of permanently unemployed, the lowering of wages. It is not surprising that these circumstances should revolutionize the situation, sharpen the struggle of classes and push the workers forward to new class battles."

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Shop Politics and Organization

By JOHN STEUBEN

AN examination of the numerous decisions of the Comintern, Red International of Labor Unions, and the Central Committee of our Party, will show that time and again the following task was stressed: *To shift the center of gravity of the daily activity of our Party, revolutionary unions and opposition groups to the shops and factories—to make the factories, mines, mills and ships our fortresses.* Why, then, is it that even though this was always considered as "our most important task" in resolutions and discussions, but in *practice,* it still remains the *weakest link in our whole work?* Who and what is responsible for this discrepancy between words and deeds, between good desires and poor action?

First of all, one can trace it to the deep-rooted formalism in our ranks, a habit of writing and accepting resolutions and decisions, not at the same time thinking that "it is I, my section, my union, my district that will have to actively participate in putting this resolution into effect." The habit of clinging to the general, and not getting down to the concrete, too much talk about winning the *majority* of the working class, but not taking the practical steps to win the majority of workers of one *important factory.* In theory, against a reliance on the spontaneity of the masses; in practice, nothing short of that. Very often our functionaries talk about, "we communists must go to the masses," but very few do it—an inward and "round circle" orientation of most of our functionaries, instead of a mass orientation; and, as the R. I. L. U. points out, in our days, *the only way of doing mass work is by doing work in the shops.* We have also stated in words that "bolsheviks overcome all difficulties," but when it came to factory work, instead of overcoming the numerous difficulties step by step, we succumb to them.

Because of the fact that work inside the factories was merely a formal recognition, we only lately began to take up the specific problems of *shop politics and organization.* Comrade S. Willner, in his article in the December issue of *The Communist* (Building the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement), certainly hit the nail on the head when he wrote:

> "There are such questions as: how to penetrate into the factories; how must the factory branch of the revolutionary trade union be organized; how must the factory group work in the shop; what are its relations to the shop nucleus of the C. P.? *These*

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questions have long ago become mass questions. Without their solution among the masses, with the masses and by the masses, under the leadership of the T.U.U.L., it is impossible to systematically prepare for and lead struggles against wage cuts, for unemployment relief . . . without dealing with and solving these questions as mass questions it is impossible to build up strong revolutionary mass trade unions and T.U.U.L. groups." (Emphasis mine—J. S.)

In other words, these are not mere organizational problems, but also problems of the most important political nature. It is also in this light that factory work was taken up at the Eighth Session of the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions. Above all, the development of our work inside the large factories will mean a final departure from the present primarily agitational stage to one of continuous action, gradually raising the struggles of the workers to a higher and higher level.

The purpose of this article is to take up in a concrete fashion some important problems of shop politics and organization, in the light of our experiences in New York. Unfortunately, these are experiences in small and middle-size factories, and not so much in large factories of trustified industry. This weakness, too, is not an accidental one, but rather a reflection of our orientation.

THE EXCUSE—IT'S DIFFICULT

Strange as it may seem, if we are to get down to work in a serious manner in making the shop the base for our mass work, we must first of all convince our Party and Trade Union Unity League workers that we can and must overcome the difficulties. In fact, the practical overcoming of these difficulties is in itself Bolshevik deeds, because these very difficulties are of a class nature, built up by the ruling class against no one else but us. The worst part of it, however, is not that our difficulties are insurmountable, but that we very often use these difficulties as an excuse, as a cover, as a "theoretical justification" for poor organizing activities, with the result that we seldom take up our difficulties in the light of solving them. Comrade Lozovsky brought this out very clearly at the recent R. I. L. U. Plenum:

"Where is the root of this evil, in the objective factor, or in the subjective? *The root of the evil lies in the subjective factor.* Who can say that the R.I.L.U. adherents in Poland find it easier to work among the masses than the R.I.L.U. adherents in England? Who can say that our adherents in Germany or France, from the point of view of police persecution, have more difficult conditions than the Polish comrades? Thus we see that it is not the objective difficulties that are to blame, *but the way the work is organized, the methods and forms of organizing struggle and the*

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degree to which we have succeeded in penetrating the masses. This is what decides the issue and nothing else."

This is the approach we must develop; the phrase of "not capitulating before difficulties" must become a living line to be carried out with and by the masses under the leadership of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League. The continuous stream of initiative that prevails within the ranks of the proletariat is the guarantee that we will defeat old and new difficulties.

Is this an easy task? By no means. Only those who never saw the inside of a factory can believe that this is an easy task. It is inside the factories that we meet the relentless resistance of the bosses. It is inside the factories that the bosses have developed an up-to-date spy system, under whose watchful eye we have to operate. It is inside the factories that the boss and his agents are working overtime to divide the ranks of the workers, through prejudicing the native against the foreign born workers, the white against the Negroes, the youth against the adult, the higher paid against the lower paid. It is inside the factories that the blacklist exists.

Yes, these are the difficulties that we face. But shall our militant unions and individual members retreat before these difficulties? Can we continue to say that because it is difficult we therefore cannot do it? This would mean to give up the very idea of building up red unions in this country. Our practice was not very far from such a policy. How can we otherwise explain, for example, the fact that the Metal Workers League in the East has no effective organization in the Crucible Steel, General Electric, Westinghouse, Philadelphia and Brooklyn Navy Yards, Winchester Rifle, Dry Docks, Bliss, etc.? How else can we explain that the National Textile Workers Union has no effective organization in the Widman, Henry Doherty and Botany Mills? How else can we explain that the Food Workers Union exists for a period of two years and we have no shop organization in such large food factories as Ward, Sunshine, Nabisco, Loft, or even in the large chain cafeterias? How else can we explain the fact that out of seventeen thousand members in the T. U. U. L. in New York, we haven't even a hundred railroad or a dozen chemical workers? How else can we explain that our Needle Trades Union has very little organization in the large needle factories, where the youth, Negroes and Latin American workers are exploited to an unprecedented degree? These are cold facts and the sooner we face them in a bold and frank manner, the better it will be for our movement.

The building of our unions inside the shops and factories, will at the same time solve our other major problems, such as the development of broad united front movements, good strike preparations, etc.

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We will greatly eliminate our present financial difficulties. We will strengthen our position among the American Federation of Labor workers. The very system of operation of our unions will demand a broad rank and file leadership, and above all, we will be in daily touch with the masses of workers, knowing their moods and desires, and thus give more effective leadership.

WHERE TO START?

In developing our factory work, the method of concentration is highly important. We know that our forces and resources are very limited. It is therefore advisable that each union and industrial league shall pick a limited number of factories for concentration. In picking these factories, we must bear in mind that they must be large and key factories in the industry. The role of the T. U. U. L. in the coming class battles will depend on the amount of influence *and organization* we will have in the decisive sections of industry. We cannot afford to forget the fact that the ruling class succeeded in putting over wage cuts in the steel, railroad, building, printing and marine industries *without a fight* because the T. U. U. L. is weakest in the above industries. In selecting concentration factories, we must also take into consideration our present contacts and the possibilities for establishing such.

The idea of concentration is no more new in our ranks, but the results, with the exception of the coal fields, are so far very poor. This is due mainly to the fact that we concentrated in resolutions only. The Central Committee must expose such "concentration" as the latest form of phrase mongering. In order to make concentrated activity our daily work, the unions, after deciding on a concentration point, *must immediately create the necessary apparatus that will guarantee at least a successful start.* In this connection the recent T. U. U. L. conference in New York decided to form concentration groups for specific factories, to be composed of some of the most capable employed and unemployed members of the unions. The task of the concentration group at the beginning is to obtain shop contacts through visiting workers' houses, organizing factory gate meetings, investigating if there are readers of our press in the factory, or workers belonging to some of our friendly organizations, or through a systematic sale of our press at the gates and carecarefully checking up on those who buy our papers regularly, to arrange special indoor meetings in the neighborhood where the workers of that factory live, etc. In forming these concentration groups, we must have in mind the composition of the workers in the factory. If, for example, the workers of that factory are mostly young, then

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members of the union concentration group should consist of young workers.

The concentration group should work under the direct guidance and leadership of the leading committees of the union. Regular reports must be given on the concrete activities of the concentration group and the individual members. Comrades serving on these groups should not be overburdened with any other union activity, so that they should be able to do justice to their work. The results of the group and individual comrades should be popularized. Special prizes should be given to the concentration group that succeeds in a certain period of time to form a shop group.

In order to exchange experiences, in cities where we have a Trade Union Unity Council, the T. U. U. C. should call special meetings of these concentration groups, where the best and most productive methods will be popularized. At these meetings there should also be a check-up on the concrete help the leadership of the union gives to its concentration groups. If these concentration groups are properly guided, they become a source through which we can develop dozens of volunteer organizers.

FOUR STATES IN SHOP WORK

As we develop our shop work we usually have to go through four important stages: (1) the initial stage; (2) the spreading-out stage; (3) the action stage; (4) the consolidation stage. Of course, we must remember that in our shop work, we cannot work on a "blue print" basis. Some times the general conditions in the factory, or some important event—a wage cut or a compulsory increase in production makes it necessary to develop immediate action, regardless of our organizational strength. We must, however, strive to develop our factory work in such a fashion that the workers themselves, under our leadership, will be the deciding factor regarding when and what action to take. It is from the point of view of solid shop organization that we shall not attempt to skip stages, but rather go through these phrases. But it is advisable to emphasize again that we must not be schematic.

INITIAL STAGES

1. When a shop group is formed, at the beginning it consists of a small number of workers, usually three or five. These workers, as a rule, are also at the beginning politically backward and organizationally inexperienced. It is in this period that the union must give real leadership to the group. If the workers of a group feel that

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the union does not take an active interest in them and does not back them up in time of need, or if they are disappointed by the union, the group will disintegrate in no time. The most responsible and leading comrades of the unions should be assigned to the various shop groups. The New York local of the Metal Workers League, because it failed to give proper leadership to many important shop groups, has seen some of them already disintegrated; still others are on their last legs. Because of the inability of the present leadership of the local to give real leadership to the shop groups, the T. U. U. L. is forced to change the leadership of the Metal Workers League.

2. One of the major tasks of the shop group in its initial stage is to recruit new workers. The selection of workers that are to be approached, must be done in the most successful manner, making sure that no bosses' agents will enter our ranks.

3. Our shop groups will live and develop if, from the very beginning, they will be orientated towards leading the workers inside the factory. In this respect the R. I. L. U. warns us:

> "A serious defect of the factory shop sections and groups is this —that they have not always put forward, in time and correctly, demands based upon the burning needs of the workers in individual factories and departments; that they have not always heeded the discontent arising in connection with the every day disputes between the workers and employers, and have not always taken the initiative in the solution of these disputes by way of the application of various forms."

THE SPREADING-OUT STAGE

1. To transform the group into a solid shop branch of the union. At this stage we should not only have our shop program and demands ready, but must widely popularize them with a view to lining up the workers to support the shop program. Here is where real skill is needed in working out a shop program. What we need at the beginning is not a maximum, but a minimum program—the workers should feel that the program demands "what is coming to us."

2. The realization of the demands must not be looked upon as a thing that we will get at once as soon as we go out on strike, or that we will go out on strike and will put forward these demands. A strike is one of the highest forms of economic struggle. We must learn to develop other, or rather preliminary methods of struggle, as for example, a short stoppage; if a new efficiency scheme is introduced, the workers should get together and decide to produce the same amount as before, to demand the removal of efficiency experts

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or foremen who mistreat the workers; to utilize accident cases and immediately select a committee to demand from the boss new safety devices. If the system of paying wages is a complicated one, checks, instead of cash, or waiting for hours, etc., a committee should go up to the boss to demand a change. Experiences have proven that the shop groups which were able to initiate and lead these partial struggles inside the factories, gained the confidence of the workers, and where wage cuts were introduced, it was our shop groups and our unions that led the strikers against the wage cuts.

3. Our groups must not operate as "closed bodies" as far as the workers, nor must the group do the whole work, nor must the members of the group be on all committees going to the boss. Grievance committees are to be elected by the workers when the occasion arises. The grievance committees must not only be composed of members of our group. We must by all means involve other loyal and militant workers.

4. *In this stage of our shop work our groups must learn to develop our own shop politics in answer to the bosses' shop politics.* What are these shop politics? They are numerous. For example, when the boss feels that there is a strong sentiment amongst his workers for organization, he will not introduce a general wage cut, but will rather cut department by department. Our group must expose this scheme and call upon the workers to get ready for action. As soon as the boss finds out that there are active union men in the shop, he will attempt to fire them. Our group must give an answer to this.

In several shops in the shoe industry in New York the bosses fired members of the T. U. U. L. However, our shop groups were influential enough and called upon the workers to strike. So far, in most cases we were victorious. Not only were the bosses forced to take the workers back, but in some cases even recognized the shop committee. A very essential part of the bosses' shop politics is to divide the workers on the basis of nationality, race, skill, etc. To this we must answer with continuous agitation for unity of all workers, to point out that the workers suffer from such division, to give concrete illustrations of what unity meant to the workers in other shops of the same industry. Then we have the various schemes of the bosses who often introduce wage cuts through compulsory unemployment fund donations, lengthening working hours, doubling production, etc. The scheme of selling company shares to the workers, and "partnership" propaganda. In many large factories the bosses form sports and welfare organizations, company unions, evening schools, dramatic clubs, etc. Our shop group must have a line,

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an approach, and an answer to all these and numerous company schemes.

5. Our shop literature is of great importance, especially our shop papers. We have already developed some skill in this work, but this is still not satisfactory. As long as our shop papers will be made up in the offices and not by the workers themselves, they will be of very little use and will sometimes act as boomerangs against the group, because of exaggerations and misstatements.

6. The inner life of the shop groups must be carefully controlled by the union leadership. Regular meetings of the group must take place, outside speakers must be invited to lead discussions on important events of a general nature. If the group is big enough, a special class should be formed for the best workers. The shop groups must be involved in the political campaigns of our movement.

7. There is no other field of work where alertness and flexibility are so much needed as in our shop work. We must not look upon our shop demands as worked out previously as final. New demands, proposals, and shop slogans should be continuously worked out as a changed situation may require.

ACTION STAGE

When we enter the action stage in a factory, we must be organizationally at our best. If we work up properly to the time when we are ready for action, we shall have no difficulties in really putting the Strassburg resolution into effect. Many of our shop strikes were lost because of poor strike preparations. We must therefore learn to deal in detail with shop strike preparations as an essential part of *our shop politics*.

1. *When Are We Ready to Strike?*

Very often our trade union functionaries are permeated with "strike moods" that are not a reflection of strike moods in the shop, but only in the minds of our comrades. It is not good revolutionary strike strategy to "always strike." We must learn to measure the good work of a union not so much by the number of strikes they lead, but how they are led. *The degree of success of a strike depends upon our strike preparations.* Of course we must not make a fetish of organization. We cannot always say, that in order to strike we must have the majority of the workers organized in advance. The recent strike in the Pennsylvania coal fields proved this. However, we must at least have a minimum of organization in certain key departments that guarantees the crippling of production,

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we must have sufficient sympathy among the workers for strike action. Herein lies the value of good and concrete agitation as well as initiative of our shop organization. A no less important (in fact decisive) role is played by our strike demands. If they are tangible and realiazable, based on the needs and desires of the workers, then the workers will back them up. The recent strike of the fifty-two cleaning and dyeing shops in New York has shown that if the group has real initiative, knows how to utilize the specific peculiarities in the industry, works out concrete demands, it is possible to form effective organization within twenty-four hours.

2. *Agitational Preparations for Strikes*

This is a very important phase of strike preparations, especially in factories where we are organizationally weak. Our agitation must not be of a general nature. In our shop papers and leaflets, we must again give our views on shop politics. We must answer all questions that trouble the minds of the workers when they are in the process of making up their minds whether or not to strike. We must, for example, answer the following questions: Is it possible to win a strike during the depression? Will the unemployed take their jobs? Can the boss grant the demands? Can we defeat the police during strikes? Can we raise relief for the families? This is bosses' pronaganda, and we must counteract it. In our agitation we must be extremely careful not to make promises that we cannot live up to. It works against us.

Here is a good example of such empty promises: When the workers of the Artistic Wire, a metal shop in New York, went out on strike, the representative of the Workers International Relief spoke in the name of "seventeen million W. I. R. members throughout the world." The workers surely expected a lot, but the next day the W. I. R. failed to serve even coffee to the strikers, and these workers were asking, "Where is that guy who represents seventeen million people and gave us beautiful promises?"

3. *Shop Strike Fund*

Many of our functionaries think that a strike fund is not important, but a day after the strike is declared, they run around wild to get at least a few dollars for car fare. We must establish it as a matter of policy that each shop group must establish its own emergency strike fund. This must not be started a week or two before the strike, but long before. The New York local of the Metal Workers League has badly neglected this task, with the result that

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when they conducted shop strikes, they were in a bad financial shape. On the other hand, one of our shop branches in a large paper mill can serve as a good example in preparing for a strike. They expect a strike in May, and already in February the shop branch voted for a strike fund. This money, however, must not be used for current or any other activities. It must be kept strictly for strike purposes only.

4. *How to Take Care of Weak and Unreliable Elements*

In every shop the boss has his dogs. Without them it is difficult for him to operate. These dogs are stool pigeons all year around and strike-breakers during strikes. As part of our strike preparations we must take care of these bosses' agents. Entirely too often this task is neglected and only when it becomes an urgent matter, do our comrades wake up. It is the duty of our shop groups to expose and discredit these agents.

There are also weak elements in every shop. These, however, must be treated with patience. We must convince them of the correctness of the steps we are taking. We must not immediately brand them as scabs. Such an approach will only still further antagonize them and drive them into the bosses' camps. Even after the strike is declared and some workers remain in the shop, we must not be in a hurry to brand them as scabs.

We must first visit them at their homes and try to convince them to join the strike, point out to them the crime they are committing against their fellow workers. Of course we must not be a bunch of liberals, but must treat scabs as scabs. But this is our last resort.

5. *Examination of the Technical Outlay of the Shop*

Every strike is like a little war and our strategy must be a detailed one. The technical outlay of the shop is extremely important. Our conception of mass picketing is not merely to walk around the shop en masse, but many times it becomes necessary to actually attack the shop from the inside and chase the scabs out. At times it is amazing how little knowledge the shop organization has regarding the outlay of the shop, the number of entrances, where the most important machines are located, the number of telephones, etc. Our comrades do not think about these things, with the result that later on, when militant action is applied, it is very costly for us, the number of arrests is greater, and all kinds of traps are set, etc. We must become better organizers, and then we will realize the significance of such problems.

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6. *What to Do if the Firm Has Other Shops?*

Very often we declare a strike in a shop where the same firm has other shops. The workers stand additional hardships and the strike promises to be a long one, because the boss immediately shifts production to the other plants. The union wakes up to this problem only after the strike is on. We had such situations in the recent furniture and metal strikes, where the bosses also had factories in Baltimore, Chicago and Boston. Our union functionaries came to the New York Trade Union Unity Council asking the T. U. U. C. to wire these cities "to do something." This is belated action. Such problems must be taken care of even previous to the strike, through establishing connections in the other shops, issuing leaflets, etc.—attacking the boss on all fronts at the same time.

7. *The Functioning of the Strike Committee and Methods of Leadership During the Strike*

We have led many strikes, but we can point to very few strikes where the strike committees really functioned. On numerous occasions we found that non-functioning of the strike committee was mainly due to the lack of knowledge of how a strike committee functions. The strike committee is entirely in charge of the strike. We believe in a large strike committee in order to draw in large numbers of strikers. The strike committee assigns comrades to be in charge of picketing, raising relief, following up scabs, activizing every striker, issuing strike bulletins, carrying on negotiations with the boss, organizing legal defense, recruiting into the union, arranging affairs for strike benefit and for the strikers, giving out publicity, etc. These are some of the most important functions of the strike committee. This does not mean that the members of the strike committee have to do all the work themselves. Other strikers must be involved in the above mentioned sub-committees, but the strike committee controls and directs all this work. The union must not replace the leadership of the strike committee, but must instead, give leadership through the strike committee.

CONSOLIDATION STAGE

This is just as an important stage in our factory work as the action stage. Many times after good action that has brought good results, our work is wasted because of lack of consolidation. Not everything ends when a strike is over. Many new and important problems arise.

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1. If the strike is won, then our next job is to consolidate our gains; to point out to the workers that whatever they won, it was as a result of struggle and sacrifice, and that these gains must and can be maintained *through solid organization.* As a rule, when the strike is won, all workers join the union. The task of the union, therefore, is to give real leadership to its shop branch. These workers, who during the course of struggle, have proven to be militant, loyal and energetic—the best of these workers should be promoted into the leadership of the union. My article in the January issue of *The Communist* takes up this problem extensively.

2. The problem of consolidation after we lose a strike is even more serious. The leadership of a union that abandons the workers of a shop after a strike is lost, deserves a public condemnation. It is at this stage that workers feel defeated, partly demoralized, and generally down and out. It is at this time that the union must give guidance, encouragement and some times even comradely help. We must explain boldly to the workers why the strike was lost, the reasons for it; raise their morale and prepare for a future struggle. The leadership of the New York local of the Metal Workers League is guilty of deserting the workers of the Artistic Wire and the workers of the Kay Manufacturing Company. The leadership failed to given even an explanation to the workers why these strikes were lost, what must be done now, and what the union is ready to do for them at present. We cannot tolerate such irresponsibility. Besides, workers who put up a brave fight under our leadership, deserve, not desertion, but utmost support from a revolutionary union.

In a future article we shall take up the organizational structure of our shop organizations, when we transform a shop group into a shop branch of the union, the relation between the branch and the shop committee, that is, the united front body inside the factory, the problem of the shop branches that function illegally or semi-legally. The problem of transforming our opposition work on a shop basis and how to operate in shops controlled by American Federation of Labor unions is an extremely important and interesting topic in itself. All these are really mass questions and must be broadly discussed, popularized and solved.

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Marxism and the National Problem[1]

By J. STALIN

I. THE NATION

WHAT is a nation? A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people. It is not a racial or tribal community. The modern Italian nation was formed by Romans, Germans, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, etc. The French nation represents a mixture of Gauls, Romans, Britons, Germans, etc. The same is true of the Britishers, Germans and other nations which are composed of people of different races and tribes.

Thus a nation constitutes not a racial or a tribal, but an historically constituted people.

On the other hand, it is beyond doubt that the great States of Cyrus and Alexander could not be named nations though they were formed historically, formed out of different tribes and races. They were not nations, but accidental and loosely connected conglomerations of groups which split up and joined together depending upon the victories and defeats of this or that conqueror.

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[1] *Note by the Author in* 1924. The article *Marxism and the National Problem* reflects the period of the discussions on the principles of the national problem going on in the ranks of Russian Social Democracy during the epoch of feudal-tsarist reaction a year and a half before the beginning of the imperialist war, during the epoch of the growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia. Two theories of the Nation were in conflict at that time and, corresponding to that, there were two National programs, *viz.*, the Austrian, which was supported by the Bund and by the Mensheviks, and the Russian, which was a Bolshevik program. The reader will find a characterization of both tendencies in the article. Subsequent events, particularly the imperialist war and the dissolution of Austria-Hungary into separate national states, has made obvious on which side was the truth. At the present time, when Springer and Bauer are confronted with the shattered fragments of their National program, it can hardly be possible to doubt that history has pronounced judgment on the "Austrian School." Even the Bund has had to recognize that "the demand for national-cultural autonomy (*i.e.*, of the Austrian National program.—J. S.) put forward within the limits of the capitalist structure loses its meaning under the conditions of Socialist revolution. (Vide: *Eleventh Congress of the Bund*, 1920.) The Bund does not suspect that thereby it has recognized, despairingly recognized, the untenability in principle of the theoretical bases of the Austrian National program, the untenability in principle of the Austrian theory of the Nation.—J. STALIN.

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Thus a nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a lasting community of people.

But not every lasting community creates a nation. Austria and Russia are also lasting communities, but no one will call them nations. What distinguishes national identity from State community? One of the distinguishing features is that national identity is impossible without a common language while to a State a common language is not necessary. The Czech nation in Austria and the Polish nation in Russia would be impossibilities without a common language, while the integrity of Russia and Austria is not disturbed by the existence of a number of languages within them. We refer, of course, to the languages used by the people rather than the official languages of the government offices.

Thus, identity of language is one of the characteristic features of nations.

This does not, of course, mean that different nations always necessarily speak different languages or that all those speaking one language necessarily constitute one nation. A common language is necessary to each nation, but different languages are not necessary to different nations.

There is no one nation which at one and the same time speaks different languages, but this does not mean that there cannot be any two nations using one and the same language. Englishmen and North Americans speak one language but do not constitute one nation. The same is true of the Norwegians and Danes, of the English and Irish.

But why do not the Englishmen and North Americans constitute one nation in spite of the identity of their languages?

Primarily because they live not together but in different territories. A nation is formed only as a result of lasting and regular intercourse, as a result of the co-existence of people from generation to generation. But a persistent life in common is impossible without a common territory. Englishmen and Americans had once inhabited one territory, England, and constituted one nation. Later a section of the Englishmen emigrated to America and here, on the new territory, eventually formed a new American nation.

Different territories led to the formation of different nations.

Thus, identity of territory is another characteristic feature of a nation.

But this is not all. Identity of territory does not in itself create a nation. This requires, in addition, internal economic connections, welding together the different sections of a nation into a single whole.

There is no such connection between England and North Amer-

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ica, and therefore they constitute two distinct nations. But the North Americans themselves would not deserve the name of a nation had not the different parts of North America been bound up into an economic whole, thanks to the division of labor between them, to the development of railroads, etc.

Take Georgia, for instance. The Georgians of the pre-reform days lived on a common territory and spoke one language. Nevertheless, they did not, strictly speaking, constitute one nation, for being split up into a number of disconnected principalities, they did not lead a common economic life: waged for centuries wars against each other, ruining each other and inciting the Persians and Turks against each other. The ephemeral and accidental unification of the principalities which some successful king sometimes effected embraced at best the administrative circles and soon disintegrated again owing to the differences between the princes and the indifference of the peasants. Nor could this be otherwise in economically divided Georgia. Georgia as a nation developed only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the downfall of serfdom and the growth of the economic life of the country, the development of roads, and the rise of capitalism, established a division of labor between the various districts of Georgia, completely shattered the economic isolation of the principalities and bound them together into a single whole.

The same must be said of the other nations which passed through the stage of feudalism and developed capitalism.

Thus, identity of economic life, economic contact, forms another characteristic feature of nations.

But even this is not all. In addition to the foregoing, it is necessary to take into consideration the peculiar spiritual characteristics of the people constituting a nation. Nations differ from each other not only by the conditions of their life, but also by spiritual characteristics which manifest themselves in the national culture. If England, North America and Ireland constitute three distinct nations despite identity of language, this is largely due to the peculiar psychology developed among them from generation to generation as a result of different conditions of existence.

Of course, psychology itself or, as it is otherwise called, the "national character," cannot be seized by an observer, but insofar as it manifests itself in a peculiarity of culture of the nation as a whole it is discernible and cannot be ignored.

Needless to say that the "national character" is nothing fixed once and for all, but changes together with the conditions of life; but inasmuch as it exists at any given moment, it leaves a definite imprint upon the face of the nation.

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Thus, identity of psychology manifesting itself in a common culture is another of the characteristic features of a nation.

Now we have exhausted all the characteristics of a nation.

A nation is an historically developed lasting identity of language, territory, economic life, and psychology manifesting itself in identity of culture.

It goes without saying, of course, that a nation, like every other historical phenomenon is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end.

It must be emphasized that none of the above characteristics taken separately is sufficient to define a nation. Moreover, the absence even of one of these characteristics is sufficient for the nation to cease to be a nation.

It is possible to imagine people with a common national character who may still not constitute a single nation if they are economically separated, if they live on different territories or speak different languages. Such, for instance, are the Russian, Galician, American, Georgian mountain Jews, who do not, in our opinion, constitute a single nation.

It is possible to imagine people with a common territory and economic life who nevertheless do not constitute a single nation owing to differences in language and "national character." Such, for instance, are the Germans and Letts in the Baltic region.

Finally, the Norwegians and Danes speak one language but do not constitute a single nation owing to the absence of the other characteristics.

Only the existence of all the characteristics taken together produces a nation.

It may appear that the "national character" is not one of the characteristics but the sole essential characteristic of a nation, all the other characteristics representing only conditions for the development of the nation rather than its characteristics. This viewpoint is maintained by the well-known Austrian social democratic theoreticians of the national question, R. Springer, and particularly by O. Bauer.

Let us analyze their theory of the nation.[2]

According to Springer, "a nation is a union of similarly thinking and similarly speaking people. It is a cultural identity of a group of contemporaries which is not connected with country."

Thus, a union of like-minded people speaking one language, no matter how divided they may be from each other in space, no matter where they live, is a nation.

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[2] *National Problems* by A. Springer, page 43.

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Bauer goes even further.

What is a nation? he asks. "Is it identity of language which combines people into a nation? But Englishmen and Irishmen . . . speak one language without representing a single nation. Jews have no common language, but nevertheless constitute a nation." [3]

What, then, is a nation?

"A nation is a relative identity of character." [4]

But what is character, national character in this case?

A national character is "a sum of features distinguishing people of one nationality from people of another, a complex of physical and spiritual qualities which distinguishes one nation from another." [5]

Bauer knows, of course, that a national character does not come down from heaven and he, therefore, adds: "The character of people is determined by nothing else but their fate," that "a nation is nothing but an identity of fate," which is in its turn determined "by the conditions under which people produce the means of life and distribute the products of their labor." [6]

Thus, we have come to the "fullest" definition of a nation according to Bauer. "A nation is a complex of people connected by an identity of character based upon an identity of fate." [7]

Thus, identity of national character is based on identity of fate, without a necessary connection with identity of territory, language or economic life.

But what then remains of the nation in such a case? What national identity can there be among people who are economically disconnected, who live on different territories and speak different languages, from generation to generation?

Bauer speaks of the Jews as a nation though they "have no common language" [8]; but what "identity of fate" and national connection is there, for instance, between the Georgian, Dagestan, Russian and American Jews, who are completely disunited, who live on different territories and speak different languages?

The said Jews undoubtedly lead the same economic and political life respectively as the Georgians, Dagestanians, Americans, and live in the same cultural atmosphere as the latter; this cannot but leave a definite impress upon their national character; if there is anything common among them it is their religion, origin and some

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[3] Otto Bauer: *The National Question and Social Democracy*; pages 1-2.
[4] *Ibid*; page 6.
[5] *Ibid*; page 2.
[6] *Ibid*; pages 24-25.
[7] Otto Bauer: *The National Question and Social Democracy*; page 139.
[8] *Ibid*; page 2.

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remnants of national character. All this is unquestionable. But is it possible seriously to maintain that petrified religious rites and some faint heritages of identical psychology affect the "fate" of the above-mentioned Jews more strongly than the vital social-economic and cultural environment? And it is only with this assumption that it is possible to speak of the Jews in general as a single nation.

What, then, distinguishes Bauer's nation from the mystic and self-sufficient "national spirit" of the spiritualists?

Bauer draws a sharp line between the "distinctive feature" of nations (the national character) and the "conditions" of their life. But what is the national character except the reflection of the conditions of life, an impress of the influences of the environment? How is it possible to be limited to the national character alone, isolating and separating it from the conditions which gave rise to it?

Further, what distinguished the English nation from the North American nation at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries when North America was still known as New England?

Not the national character, of course, for the North Americans were emigrants from England who took with them to America not only the English language, but also the English national character and could not, of course, have lost it so fast though under the conditions of the new life they naturally developed their own peculiar character. Still, despite this certain identity of character they constituted a distinct nation. Apparently, New England is a nation differed from England as a nation not by a special national character, or not so much by the national character as by distinct conditions of life.

Thus it is clear that in reality there is no single feature distinguishing a nation. There is only a sum of features under which, when nations are compared, either one (national character) or another (language) or a third (territory, economic conditions) appears in sharper relief. A nation constitutes a combination of all the characteristics taken together.

Bauer's point of view which regards the nation as identical with the national character removes the nation away from its basis and converts it into a sort of self-sufficient force. The result is not a living and acting nation but something mystical, invisible and otherworldly. For, I repeat, what sort of a Jewish nation is it that consists of Georgian, Dagestanian, Russian, American and other Jews, the members of which do not understand each other (for they speak different languages), live in different parts of the globe,

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never see each other, never act together, whether in times of peace or of war? No, it is not for such paper "nations" that the Social Democracy is working out its national program. It can take into consideration only real, living nations which lead a common national life and are able to make themselves be reckoned with.

Bauer apparently confuses the nation, which constitutes an historical category, with the race which constitutes an ethnographic category.

However, Bauer himself seems to feel the weakness of his position. While definitely declaring the Jews to be a nation at the beginning of his book,[9] Bauer corrects himself at the end stating that "the capitalist system makes it impossible for them (the Jews) to survive as a nation"[10] and assimilates them together with the other nations.

The reason appears to be that "the Jews have no isolated region for colonization,[11] while the Czechs, for instance, have such a territory, and according to Bauer, will survive as a nation.

In short, the reason lies in the absence of a common territory.

In arguing this, Bauer wanted to say that national autonomy cannot be the demand of the European workers,[12] but he thereby overthrew his own theory which denies identity of territory as one of the characteristics of a nation.

But Bauer goes even further. At the beginning of his book he definitely declares that "the Jews have no common language, but nevertheless constitute a nation.[13] But on page 130 he makes a change of front and declares just as definitely "unquestionably no nation is possible without a common language."

Bauer wanted to say that "language is a most important instrument of human intercourse,"[14] but at the same time he involuntarily proved something which he did not mean to prove, namely, the untenability of his own theory of a nation, which denies the importance of identity of language.

Thus, does the theory which is sewn together by idealistic threads overthrow itself.

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[9] Page 2 of his book.
[10] *Ibid*; page 389.
[11] *Ibid*; page 388.
[12] *Ibid*; page 396.
[13] *Ibid*; page 2
[14] *Ibid*; page 130.

(To be continued)

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On the Theoretical Foundations of Marxism-Leninism

By V. ADORATSKY

Translated from the Russian by L. KATZ

(*Continued from last month*)

IN a series of his works, in his notes and sayings Lenin emphasized that, reasoning in the abstract, lack of connection between theory and practice, dealing in schemes, formalism—all of these sins violate the essence of materialistic dialectics. For instance, in his notes on the margin of the pages of Bucharin's book *The Economics of the Transition Period*, Lenin wrote as follows opposite the place where Bucharin says that "the so-called 'national State' was the *purest* (Lenin's emphasis) fiction already during the pre-war period":

> "Not the *purest fiction* but an impure form. It is a violation of 'dialectic materialism' to indulge in the *logical* (not material) skipping over of *several* concrete stages."—*Leninski Sbornik*; No. XI, page 399.

Opposite the place where Bucharin discusses "dialectic negation" but does not point out concretely what constitutes such a negation, does not build that formula on a proper factual basis, Lenin jots down the remark:

> "The author abuses the expression 'dialectic negation'; one must not use it without *first* proving with facts, carefully."—(*Ibid*, page 378.)

In the notebook of quotations *Marxism on the State*, Lenin quotes the following critical remark of Engels directed against the opportunists. Engels noted that opportunists—

> ". . . usually ascribe the greatest and most immediate importance to abstract political questions, and thus ignore and cover up the most pressing concrete problems that force themselves to the foreground as the burning issues of the day at the very first events that signalize the appearance of the capitalist crisis. What other result might we expect under the circumstances except that at the decisive moment the Party will suddenly find itself helpless, that lack of unity and clarity will prevail on questions of decisive importance for the very reason that such questions have never been discussed."

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Opposite this Lenin writes on the margin:

> "To the abstract—a place of first importance, the concrete—to be glossed over! Wonderful! The main object is attained!"—*Leninski Sbornik*; No. XIV, pages 227-229.

Many similar remarks could be quoted.

Thus we see how Lenin fought against the habit of transplanting ready-made schemes, against the inability or lack of desire to comprehend theoretically the actual surroundings in all their contradiction and complexity, against the incapacity for concrete thinking. Violations of this basic demand of dialectic materialism were untiringly exposed and branded by Lenin.

It is impossible to analyze here in all detail the entire system of incorrect constructions and wrong assertions of Menshevik idealism. Such a task would require a series of articles. We will mention here only one more theoretically very important matter: namely, the incorrect counterposing of dialectics with the theory of knowledge, the rupture of the connection between the two indulged in by the Menshevik idealists. In this is revealed an incorrect, idealistic understanding of dialectics. In Deborin's article *Marx and Engels*, for instance, there appears the following statement:

> "The significance of dialectics is a *methodology* in contrast with the theory of knowledge[3] was fully realized by the founders of Marxism and of its more important representatives."

Obviously, Plechanov is meant by the "more important representatives." As regard Plechanov, it is indeed entirely correct to say that he did not pay due attention to the question of unity between dialectics and the theory of knowledge.[4] But, it is entirely incorrect to say that Marx and Engels severed that unity, counterposed the theory of knowledge with dialectics or vice versa.

The point of view of Marx and Engels is expressed by Lenin when he says: "Dialectics is precisely the theory of knowledge of Marxism."

Lenin insists that this is the essence of the question and that just

[3] The theory of knowledge, *i.e.*, the system of laws of our thought and of our knowledge of the world.

[4] It is impossible to consider in detail in this article the question of Plechanov's errors and of the relations between Plechanov and Lenin on questions of theory. That is a big enough subject for a special work. For certain suggestions along this line consult Lenin: *Works*; Vol. 6, Part I, notes 3, 19, 35, 61.

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"this essence was overlooked by Plechanov, to say nothing about the other Marxists." (See Lenin: *Works,* Vol. XIII, p. 303.)

Such a placing of the question leads to a whole series of most important results from a theoretical point of view. We will mention only a few of them in order to insure not a dogmatic, but an historical approach to the study of the problems of the theory of knowledge. This means that in the study of the theory of knowledge the entire human experience is taken into consideration. This guarantees that the theory of knowledge is actually materialistic, that there will be no break from the object that is being studied, that a materialistic line is being followed from things to conceptions and not from conceptions to things. The point of view that dialectics are identical with the theory of knowledge guarantees that there will not be created some special realm torn away from concrete reality, a system of abstractions, of permanent categories in Hegelian fashion.

In a letter to Annenkoff Marx illustrates the error of such methods by pointing to the doctrinaires[5] who attempted on the eve of the great French revolution to save both the king, the chamber of deputies and the upper chamber as presumably permanent institutions of social life, permanent categories.

> "In the 18th century," Marx writes, "many a mediocre mind was bent on finding a true formula for establishing an equilibrium between social castes, the king, parliament, etc., and—on the next day there was no more king, nor parliament, nor noblemen. The true equilibrium of this contradiction was attained by the destruction of all those social relationships that served as the basis for those feudal institutions and of the contradictions between them."

"Mediocre minds" do not connect their knowledge with the ever-changing objective material reality, or are merely doing lip service to it.

If dialectics that require concrete thinking, a grasp of the whole objective reality in its entirety, actually do constitute the theory of knowledge then this is a guarantee that those who know how to be guided by it will not find themselves in such an unpleasant and ridiculous position as the doctrinaires find themselves in.

Revolutionary Marxism, dialectic materialism teaches us to approach the problems of knowledge dialectically, studying the transition from ignorance to knowledge. Dialectics are the natural

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[5] Doctrinaires are people for whom science has no connection with life, who repeat once learned maxims and are unable to reflect the changes that life brings about, theorists with whom theory is disconnected with life.

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means towards human knowledge since our knowledge reflects the dialectic movement of the objective world (of nature and society). Dialectic materialism does not consider every achievement of knowledge as final and at the same time does not doubt the vitality, the fruitfulness, truthfulness, objectivity and power of human knowledge, that is conquering all difficulties in the course of social development.

The development of human thought takes place on the basis of the development of social productive labor.

> "The furthering of the task of Hegel and Marx," says Lenin, "will be accomplished by a dialectic study of the history of human thought, science, and technique."—*Leninski Sbornik*; No. IX, page 139.

On this basis we must study the unity of opposites: the basis of theory and practice, of the actual relationships in the world surrounding us and of abstract conceptions arising as the reflections in the human mind of those actual relationships, studying the verification of those conceptions in an activity that attains its objectives, that realizes them in life in the course of human practice.

In the work of studying and elaborating materialistic dialectics it is necessary to proceed in a Leninist manner carrying on a struggle against the mechanistic denial of dialectics and against the idealistic perversion of it, against the Menshevik idealism, disclosing and exposing the errors of one or the other kind, showing the way to the correction of those errors and correcting them, placing theory at the service of the proletarian revolution, connecting theory with the practice of proletarian struggle, making philosophy partisan to the very end.

Marxism-Leninism under conditions of class society, while classes are not yet wholly liquidated can exist and develop only in struggle with all bourgeois and petty bourgeois tendencies, movements, influences, ideas.

V. THE DIALECTICS OF NATURE AND OUR KNOWLEDGE

Materialistic dialectics, as already stated, are indispensible for the study of the entire surrounding world, of nature and of human society. Regarding the study of nature Marx, and particularly Engels, displayed a great interest in the entire field of natural science. Engels did very much in that field and gave his conclusions in the first part of his "Anti-During" and in a large work *The Dialectics of Nature*, which, however, he was unfortunately unable to publish during his life-time. (The manuscripts which were left intact have been published as a separate book by

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the Institute of Marx and Engels.) The conclusions of Engels that, in nature, development proceeds in accordance with dialectic laws and not in accordance with metaphysical laws is brilliantly confirmed by contemporary natural science. This fact was pointed out by Lenin, who was the first from among the most prominent Marxian theoreticians after Engels to take up the study of the situation of one of the most important branches of contemporary natural science, namely contemporary physics.

Since the time when Engels was occupied with the study of natural sciences, (the 70's of the 19th century) science has made significant progress. Lenin approached these new materials as a materialist dialectician; he explained the crisis of contemporary physics from a Marxian point of view and pointed out the way that scientific investigation must follow.

Analyzing contemporary theories, Lenin conducted a struggle against clericalism (idealism) which does not offer a scientific explanation of phenomena, evades a real understanding of what takes place in nature, is against science, and leads to a stagnation of thought and to reaction in ideas.

In connection with the controversies that developed in Marxian literature during the years following the revolution of 1905, as has already been noted above, Lenin worked out in detail the problems of the theory of knowledge as understood by dialectic materialism. On every subject, whether it be matter and experience, senses and knowledge, space and time, casual connection of things, or absolute and relative truth, Lenin proved the existence of two lines of philosophy—idealism and materialism. Idealism assumes that at the basis of everything there is the spiritual factor (the same as God) identical or akin to our consciousness (the latter being torn away by the idealist from its actual connection with matter.) As an example of the philosophy of a typical idealist, Lenin analyzed the philosophy of the English Bishop Berkley (see Vol. XIII *Materialism and Emprio-Criticism* and Note No. 23 to Vol. VI of *Selected Works*.) Materialism considers it incorrect to put spirit, consciousness at the basis of everything. At the basis of everything is matter; that which exists independent of our consciousness, not in it, but outside of it. This outside material world affects our consciousness, is reflected by it, determines it. Matter is the original, the basic; consciousness—the secondary, the resultant. Consciousness is indissolubly connected with matter; it is a property of matter organized in a particular way—of our brain, the product of its activity. Consciousness reflects the outside world. Without the brain there can be no consciousness, no thought. But the idealists, who consider

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spirit the basis of all, actually tear away thought from the brain. In the imagination of the idealist the entire course of things is pictured upside down. According to the views of the idealists matter comes from the spirit. In actual fact, however, as materialism perfectly correctly teaches us, there is no such thing as a "world of spirits"; no such thing as a world that is "different," "beyond"; the world is a unit, and the unity of the world, as Engels puts it, springs from its materialist nature.

Impressions of the external material world (of human society and of nature) are conveyed to us through the organs of our senses. These impressions on our senses constitute the material for our knowledge. We reflect this world in our consciousness for the very reason that we ourselves are a part of it. Thought works up the sense impressions; reality is reflected in it. Such is the way dialectic materialism understands our knowledge. The material object and our consciousness—this is also a certain unity of opposites. We must not confuse, identify the outside world and our consciousness of it as is done by idealists of the type of Berkley. An external object and consciousness of it are opposites; they are not identical things. However, this opposite character is not absolute—there is no break between the outside world and our consciousness. There is also unity here in the sense that without the material world and the human brain there cannot be that consciousness with which we are dealing and of which, as has been shown above, we can alone speak. Unity exists also in the sense that, on the whole, our mind reflects the objective world very correctly. On this point Lenin gives a splendid explanation in the chapters of his philosophical work *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism* "Absolute and Relative Truth," and "The Criterion of Practice in the Theory of Knowledge."

The essence of all these explanations by Engels and Lenin is this, that, while taking note of the fact that our knowledge, at each stage of its historical development, is only relative, conditional and approximate, we should nevertheless, in each scientific theory, with all its shortcomings, find the kernel of objective truth, the particle of a correct reflection of the world that exists outside of ourselves. We must be able to absorb and develop this truth notwithstanding the historical and passing nature of our knowledge. In the works of Hegel, there are many errors, much of mysticism, idealism, clericalism; but they also contain the basis of the dialectic method. We must know how to extract what is correct and ingenious from forms which are incorrect, fantastic, out of date. That is just what was done by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the greatest masters of materialist dialectics.

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Our knowledge contains one absolute (unconditional, undebatable) truth and that is, first of all, the fact that it reflects the outside world. The correctness of our knowledge is checked and confirmed by practice.

Neither the old metaphysical materialism nor Hegel were able to apply dialectics correctly to the process of development of our knowledge. This only Marx and Engels were able to accomplish and, after them, Lenin—all of them representatives of dialectic materialism.

> "The approach of the human mind to the individual object," wrote Lenin in one of his philosophical notebooks, "taking its mask (conception) is *not* a simple direct act, an act similar to a lifeless reflection in a mirror; but it is one that is complex, broken in twain, zig-zag like, one that *contains within itself* the possibility of a break between fantasy and life; more than that: the possibility of the *transformation* (which proceeds unnoticed by man who remains unconscious of it) of the abstract conception or idea into fantasy (in the final analysis—God). Because, even in the most simple generalization, the most elementary (simplest—V. A.) general idea ('table' in general) contains a certain particle of *fantasy*." (*Leninski Sbornik*, No. XII, p. 399, also, *On the Question of Dialectics*, Lenin, *Works*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 63.)

Such a transformation, creation of various fantastic notions (about the might and power of the dead, about evil spirits, about God, about spiritual forces, about all kinds of devils, etc.) takes place due to various complex reasons, all based on the dependence of man on his circumstances, that are enslaving him, on natural forces, social forces that seem to him external and foreign. And it is on this basis that all kinds of faiths and religion spring up. (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. VI, Part 1, pp. 307, 313, 314, 323).

Materialistic dialectics, when properly applied to our knowledge, i. e., when due note is taken of the fact that our consciousness is determined by the course of development of the material world, which is independent of that consciousness, and that part and participant of that material world is man himself in his developing knowledge—such dialectics constitute the best weapon against clericalism, against ossification of thought, against the substitution of living work of the mind for dead abstractions which lead to stagnation.

The old theory of matter taught that matter consists of indivisible simple particles—atoms. New discoveries, however, have revealed that atoms are not simple, but are very complex. The atoms are now being further subdivided into much smaller particles—electrons. (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XIII, pp. 207-211). Learned naturalists have discovered that the laws of motion of these particles are different from the laws governing the immeasurably slower motion

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of great masses of matter. Scientists who are not familiar with dialectic materialism began to conclude from this that with the disappearance of the atom, matter also disappears, that our knowledge is powerless, that we cannot comprehend the actual world, in other words began to roll down to the point of view of idealism and agnosticism (we cannot know!) (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-256).

Lenin has shown that new discoveries that lead to an abandonment of old scientific theories, lead also to a further deepening of our knowledge of matter, that they confirm the correctness of dialectic materialism which teaches us to approach scientific truths not as if they were unshakable dogmas, but rather as approximately correct reflections of the objective process which every step in the development of science must make more correct and perfect. New discoveries do not shake the basic proposition that we know matter, but, on the contrary, they confirm the strength and depth of our knowledge. In Chapter V of Lenin's book *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism*, "The Latest Revolution in the Science of Natural History and Philosophical Idealism," Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XIII, pp. 205, 256) Lenin showed that the latest discoveries in physics brilliantly confirm the validity of dialectic materialism.

Thanks to his ingenious capacity for mastering materialistic dialectics Lenin was able to say something new even on the questions of the phenomena of nature and to say it not merely in a general way, but pointing out exactly the errors of learned naturalists—materialists rather by instinct—and along what lines and in what consists their retreat from materialism, due to their lack of knowledge of dialectics.

Lenin criticized their theories dialectically, separating out that which is correct, correcting errors, pointing out how to conduct investigation. As an example let us take his analysis of the speech of the English professor of physics, A. W. Ruecker (Vol. XIII pp. 224-226) who defended the "point of view of spontaneous materialism" and who was committing errors because of his lack of knowledge of dialectic materialism. Or let us point to his criticism of the works of Duhem and Stallo (Ibid, pp. 253-255). Lenin points out there, for instance, where Duhem approaches dialectic materialism and wherein lies his weakness, why he rolls down to the level of reactionary philosophy not being able to directly and at once lift himself up from metaphysical materialism to dialectic materialism.

About the dialectics of nature Engels wrote in the preface to the second edition of "Anti During" in 1885 as follows:

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> "The correctness of dialectic understanding is being confirmed more and more by the accumulating facts of natural science." "Natural science has now reached such a stage of development that it cannot any more escape dialectic generalization if we keep in mind that the conclusions derived by generalizing the facts of experience are the essence of conceptions; but the art of dealing with conceptions is not innate or a part of daily common thought but demands real thought which in turn has a background of just as long a history as the tested natural sciences. Precisely because natural science contains the results of the development of philosophy during the course of two and a half thousand years it, on the one hand, will free itself from all systems of natural philosophy that stand isolated, outside and above it, and, on the other hand, also from the domination of its own superficial method of thinking inherited from English empiricism."

We understand nature as the sum total of bodies (beginning with stars and ending with atoms, electrons and ether)—bodies that are in a state of perpetual interaction, motion, changing forms, qualities, undergoing transformations from one condition to another, etc.; and to understand those motions and transformations (for instance, from inorganic to organic matter) is impossible without utilizing dialectics.

And right here it is necessary to make clear the difference between the philosophical and the physical understanding of matter. The recognition of the existence of matter is absolutely correct, the recognition of an external objective world that exists independent of our consciousness, outside of it. The outside world affects our senses, is reflected in our consciousness. The recognition of the objective reality of the external world is an absolute truth that is being confirmed in practice every hour, every minute. It is the very basis of the materialistic world outlook. We are able to understand the principles of the material world due to the fact that the "understanding apparatus" (if one can use such an expression) is to be found not outside of the world but is actually a part of it. This "understanding apparatus"—thinking people, human society—is the fruit of a long process of development. The existence and development of mankind is the best proof of its power and vitality, including also the power and vitality of its knowledge.

Physical and other scientific theories, however, are only relative truths. They are getting ever nearer to a comprehensive knowledge of the objective world, for instance, of the physical structure of matter, etc.; their understanding of it is ever getting deeper, but they never reach the stage of final, exhaustive knowledge, final truths which would give one the sense of having no more need for

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further study. In his book *Materialism and Emprio-Criticism* Lenin said:

> "The scientific theories of the structure of matter, of the chemical composition of food, of the atom and electron can become out of date and are indeed getting out of date every day, but the truth that mankind cannot feed on thoughts, or give birth to children with the help of only platonic love, cannot get out of date." (See Vol. XIII, p. 152).

VI. THE DIALECTICS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social development also goes forward through contradictions. And here also materialistic dialectics are the indispensible weapon both for the study of social phenomena and as a guide in the every day struggles of the proletariat in fulfilling its historic mission. Man makes history. But up till the present there could not be such a thing as a conscious direction of historical development. Only after the victory of Communism will mankind become the master of the course of its own historical development.

> "With the transfer of the tools of production into the possession of society as a whole, commodity production will be done away with and together with it the domination of the product over the producers," wrote Engels in "Anti-During." "The anarchy in social production will be supplanted by an organization deliberately planned and built up. The struggle for personal existence will cease. Only then, strictly speaking, will the human being finally emerge out of the animal domain, only then will he leave behind him the zoological conditions of life and surround himself with truly human conditions. All the conditions of life built up by man, that until the present time were enslaving him, will henceforth be subject to his will, to his control. Thus, for the first time will human beings find themselves conscious and actual masters of nature by virtue of the fact that they will have become the masters of their own productive relations within a unified society. The laws of their own social activity which up till now have dominated over them as laws of nature foreign to them will thenceforth be applied in full consciousness by them and subordinated to their control. And only then will people begin themselves to create their own history in full consciousness, and only then will the social factors brought into action by men have the desired effect in significant and in ever greater degree. And that will constitute the jump by mankind out of the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom." (F. Engels, "Anti-During")

This "jump" of course, cannot be understood as an instantaneous performance. This jump will be "a break, as seen from the point of view of a turn in world history" a transition to a new type of society. Such jumps may take a period of 10 years and even more,

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as was pointed out by Marx, Engels and Lenin. (See *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Power*, Vol. XXII, p. 466). This "jump out of the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom" is now taking place in our country of proletarian dictatorship under the direction of the Leninist Party, armed with revolutionary theory. The advantages of planfulness in our economy, the rapid rate of development of socialist economy are already quite obvious.

The law of "unity of opposites" of motion through contradictions is revealed in the course of social development, first of all in the productive activity of society and in the class struggle. In contemporary society in capitalist countries the dominating position is occupied by large scale production and a basic contradiction exists between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As already pointed out above, Marx, Engels and Lenin gave particular attention to the struggle of the proletariat to which they ascribed a role of particular importance. Their own most important, basic task they perceived in the task of directing the class struggle of the proletariat, and to the interests of that struggle everything else was subordinated.

Applying dialectic materialism to the study of society, Marx discovered that development of production is the basis of social development. Material production is the foundation of social life because it insures the very existence of man. In order to exist man needs, first of all, food, drink, housing, clothes; and only then may indulge in the pursuit of politics, science, art, etc. (Engels). The material things man needs for his existence must be produced by labor. The obtaining of those things from nature, the working up of materials so obtained, their adaptation to the needs of man, all constitute the content of the productive activity of human society. Human labor, necessary for the very existence of man has a determining influence on the entire structure of human society.

Dialectic materialism, in its application to the history of human society is brilliantly expressed in the theory of the class struggle as promulgated by Marx. Marx has shown that in a class society development proceeds through class struggle that it attains its greatest intensity during revolutions, which are the result of the contradiction between the productive forces of human society and those productive relationships within whose limits the activity and development of the productive forces take place. (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 12-25, Vol. I, pp. 59-63, 283-284). This contradiction between the old productive relationships and the productive forces, which could not longer freely develop under the given conditions, expresses itself under capitalism in the struggle of the revolutionary class, the proletariat, against the exploiting class, the bour-

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geoisie. Thus the struggle of the revolutionary class pushes forward social development. The struggle of the classes was called by Marx "the battles of developing production." (Letter of Weydemier, March 5, 1852.)

Marx was not the first to discover the existence of classes and of the struggle between them, as he himself stated in a letter to his friend Weydemeier. But Marx was the first to offer an exhaustive explanation of the fundamental cause of class division (namely—a certain level of productive development.) Marx was the first to trace to its logical conclusion the meaning and content of the struggle of the contemporary proletariat, explained its historic significance, pointed out the world historic role of the proletariat; and also outlined the way and the conditions for the abolition of classes, and the transition into a classless society through the proletarian revolution, through the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx was the first to discover the general law of social development and transformed socialism from a utopia into a science.

The theory of Marx, wrote Lenin, in one of his articles in 1899—

> ". . . has changed socialism for the first time from a utopia into a science, has built a firm foundation for that science and has pointed out the road to be followed in an effort to further develop it as a whole and in all its details. This theory disclosed the very nature of contemporary capitalist economy, having revealed the manner in which the hiring of the worker, the purchase of labor power, covers up the enslavement of millions of propertyless people by a small group of capitalists, owners of the land, factories, mines, etc. It has shown, that the entire development of contemporary capitalism tends to supplant small production by large scale production, creates the very conditions that make possible as well as inevitable a socialist structure of society. It has taught us to discern under the cover of deep rooted habits, political intrigues, ingenious laws, and cunningly woven teachings—the class struggle, a struggle between various groups of propertied classes and the mass of propertyless, *with the proletariat* at their head. It has made clear the real task of the revolutionary socialist party: not the building of plans for a reconstruction of society, not the preaching to capitalists and their hangers-on the desirability of improving the conditions of the workers, not the working out of conspiracies, *but the organization of the class struggle of the proletariat and the leadership of that struggle whose final aim is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the organization of a socialist society.*" (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. II, *Our Program*, p. 491.)

It would have been entirely incorrect to represent the course of social production and of social development in a manner as if it takes place without any conscious efforts on the part of men, in a way similar to natural phenomena (change of seasons of the year,

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the ice-flow in a river, the eclipse of the sun, etc.) The gist of the matter is this, that history is made by men with their productive activity, their mass actions, their class struggles. Men themselves build and elaborate their material and spiritual culture on that basis which they receive from the previous generations. Historic development proceeds in an extremely complicated manner. A conflict arises between the productive forces of society that have already been attained and the productive relationships which no longer correspond with those productive forces. Development proceeds (after the division of society into classes) through a struggle of the classes, which struggle is expressed in various forms: in an ideological form—in the realms of philosophy, science, politics, etc.; and in a purely physical form—in battles, in bitter wars between classes within different nations and in wars between nations. All the internal contradictions of social development are solved through "practical, forcible activity of the masses." (Marx, *Letter to Annenkoff*, 1846).

"Order" and oppression is maintained in a class society of the exploiters, by force of the organized state power. To do away with, to destroy such "order," to supplant it with a new one, is possible only by way of organized force on the part of the revolutionary class—in our time, the dictatorship of the proletariat, a result of revolution having as its goal the establishment of a classless Communist society. (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XXIV, lecture *On the State*, pp. 362-377 and Vol. XXI, *State and Revolution*, pp. 365-455).

Revolutions, according to Marx and Engels, are the most important, vital, decisive moments in the history of human societies. "Revolutions are the locomotives of history," says Marx. This expression Lenin quotes in his pamphlet *Two Tactics of the Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* where he calls revolution "the holiday of the oppressed and exploited."

> "Never do the masses of the people display such capacity for active building of a new social order as at the time of revolution," Lenin wrote in 1905. (See, *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 104)

In another article, taking note of the high Marxian evaluation of the significance of revolutionary periods, Lenin wrote that:

> "Marxism differs from all other socialistic theories in a splendid combination of thorough scientific soundness of analysis of the objective situation and of the objective course of evolution with a decisive recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativeness and initiative of the masses—and, of

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course, also of individuals, groups, organizations, parties that know how to grasp and maintain connection with these or other classes." (See, *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 32.)

This reference brings us to a tremendously important feature of dialectic materialism, to its recognition of the great significance of activity, of revolutionary practice. History is made by men. The science of history studies the way this proceeds, what class forces are engaged in the historic actions, how historic development takes place. But mere study is not enough, we must not limit ourselves to that. History must be not only studied, but also made. And this latter, the "making" of history, is even more important and interesting than is the study of it (which, of course, is also absolutely necessary). Both Marx and Lenin pointed out that the shortcoming of the old materialism was its "inability to understand the conditions and to appreciate the importance of practical revolutionary action." They considered the materialism, deprived of that side, is only halfway, one-sided, dead.

Revolutionary Marxism is free from that shortcoming. And Lenin (just as Marx) throughout his entire activity was the most outstanding representative of revolutionary materialistic dialectics, the theoretician of the proletariat, who along with "scientific soundness in the analysis of the objective situation" combined fully "revolutionary initiative and energy," acted as the leader of the proletarian revolution, strategist and tactician of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The reader will find a most brilliant evaluation and characterization of the works of Marx and Engels in the preface to the Russian translation of the "Letters of K. Marx to L. Kugelman," in the preface to the Russian translation of the book "Letters of J. P. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and others to F. A. Zorge and Others." This side of the activity of Lenin should be studied carefully. Just that side of it makes Marxism a real revolutionary theory; without it, without a combination of revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice there is no Marxism, but merely an opportunism, as Lenin emphasized more than once.

All the works of Lenin are indissolubly connected with the proletarian class struggle, are permeated with revolutionary politics. The pamphlet *Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism* represents the most complete synopsis of the basic theses of the strategy and tactics of Leninism. A number of valuable illustrations are to be found in such works as, *What Is to Be Done?*, *Two Tactics*, *State and Revolution*, *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*, etc.

(To be concluded)

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Oswald Spengler's "Philosophy of Life"

By G. VASILKOVSKY

Translated from the Russian by B. BRADY

IN THE development of contemporary technics are reflected the profoundest class contradictions of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. World history has known many examples of retrogression, of decline of old and outworn economic systems and cultures. It has known many examples of nascent and flourishing new economic systems and new relations of production. But it has not known such striking examples of the decline of the old and the rise of the new as we are witnessing today.

Electrification in juxtaposition with the "pick and shovel plan." Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk in juxtaposition with closed and closing blast furnaces in capitalist metallurgy. The grandiose rise of productive forces in the Soviet Union and the ever deepening economic crisis in capitalist countries. Indeed old hag history has never woven a more colorful cloth of contrasts.

The development of contemporary technics is a sensitive measuring apparatus indicating the pressure of the Revolution in the steam-boiler of the class struggle. Many confuse the measuring apparatus with the steam boiler, like the simpletons who confuse the barometer with the storm.

Technics today has become one of the most important indices of the Revolution. Every new phenomenon of technical decay in capitalist countries and every new technical perfection in the Soviet Union are significant victories of the Proletarian Revolution. For this reason we follow with the keenest attention the anti-technical crusade which is spreading in all capitalist countries with the development of the world economic crisis.

The most significant expression against technical progress is Oswald Spengler's book, *Man and Technics*. Spengler is not the only one who opposes the machine. A whole galaxy of bourgeois writers and scientists has recently emerged articulating the anti-technical counsciousness of the petty bourgeois masses and the capitalist gentry, "combat-the-machine" ideologists. In the United States, Stuart Chase enjoys the popularity of Spengler, although the treatment of this rather complex theme for bourgeois minds and ideologists is admittedly handled with much greater skill by

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Spengler. Spengler is a "philosopher." He synthesizes facts—in his own fashion of course. His book bears the subtitle, *A Contribution to a Philosophy of Life.* In effect, it is but the philosophy of death of capitalism—which makes Spengler's book exceedingly valuable. It is one of those precious documents of the age of which it has been said that if it did not exist it would have to be invented.

Spengler's philosophy is not complicated. In the chapter, *Herbivores and Beasts of Prey,* Spengler expounds his *Weltanschauung* as follows: "Man is a beast of prey. *Acute* thinkers, like Montaigne and Nietzsche, have always known this. . . . Cleverness in the human sense, *acute* cleverness, belongs only to beasts of prey. The herbivores are by comparison stupid."

In the days of Wilhelm II, Prussian Lieutenant and "Admiral of the Atlantic," the ruling classes of Germany were nourished by this Nietzschean "wisdom." Pre-war German imperialism, with the shadow of Sedan, with a large naval program and the Prussian military drill, with an expanding metallurgical, coal, chemical and electro-technical industry, was indeed far from anemic. The theory of the "Superman," the theory of man as a beast of prey racing after the Agadirwarding gunboat "Panther or after the expeditionary corps to China, was enhancing the fame of the Kaiser's empire. But to preach the theory of the superman today, the theory of the right of the strong to rob, when the German bourgeoisie lies bound under the table of the League of Nations' conference hall, is, to say the least, absurd from the standpoint of its ruling classes.

How, then, can Spengler's Nietzscheanism be explained? First, by the ever sharpening class struggle in Germany and the search of the bourgeoisie for "strong hands" of the Fascists in order to suppress the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Secondly, Spengler needs the "Superman" to rationalize upon the doom of his class. Seemingly the atmosphere of collective work and technology is choking to the aristocratic soul of the beast of prey. The "Superman" has ceased to be able to bear the odor of machine oil. Stuart Chase complains bitterly that the machine, which man conceived and tended with so much care, has spread and multiplied according to its own laws, and that the human creature suddenly woke up to find himself "surrounded and dominated by a new race of wild and dangerous beasts." Chase puts it bluntly. With Spengler the same idea is intervolved with philosophical needlework about the "Superman" and with dubious historical analogies concerning the destruction of Rome and old cultures.

"The aim of humanity," Spengler writes, "is to free every individ-

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> ual of a large part of work which can be done by the machine. But freedom of the 'wage slaves' from 'poverty,' equality in comfort and luxury, equality in the 'enjoyment of art,' is a cry for 'Bread and Circuses.'"

From the superman's skin steps out an ordinary raving capitalist. The ideologist of the leisure class, of the gallivanting rentier, and the capitalist gentry, cannot even permit the thought that the "wage slaves" shall use the machine to do their work, so that they can live comfortably and enjoy the refinements of art. This savors too much of the Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence Spengler proclaims the decline of the West, the decline of civilization. If Rome perished together with its slaves, Europe, too, will perish with its technics and "wage slaves." Only the ruling classes, it would seem, have a right to life and the enjoyment of art. Without them life and civilization must perish.

The ruling classes are very jealous of life and of their culture. They imitate the ancient tribes whose custom it was to bury with dead chieftain his horse and wife.

> "The last instrument, Stradivarius' violin, will ultimately perish. The whole enchanted world of our sonatas, trios, symphonies, arias will be forgotten."

Not long ago, during a plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth at Kharkov, when the question of the higher cultural requirements of the workers came up for discussion, the leaders thundered their demands from the platform: "Chopin's music into the workers' club!" "Young and old workers today are interested in the music of Liszt, Beethoven and Chopin."

Today, when the Spenglers are ready to bury human culture, the master of our great country, the former "wage slave" who is already making the machine work for him and who himself works only seven hours a day, enjoys the music of Chopin, Liszt and Beethoven.

The Ninth Symphony has at last found a worthy audience. Its full timbre, however, will be heard only when all the exploiters will be swept off the face of the earth. Stradivarius' violin will not perish.

> "In reality, however, it is out of the power either of heads or of hands to alter in any way the destiny of machine-technics, for this has developed out of inward spiritual necessities and is now correspondingly maturing towards its fulfillment and end. Today we stand on the summit, at the point when the fifth act is beginning. The last decisions are taking place, the tragedy is closing."

Yet there was a time, at the beginning of capitalism, when the

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bourgeoisie thought that it would sit on the spine of history forever. Then the bourgeoisie was at the forefront of the industrial revolution and it used technics to strengthen its class rule. More than that, it branded all opponents of the capitalist use of the machine as enemies of technical and social progress.

The ungrateful descendant Spengler bemoans the achievements of his ancestors. "The lord of the world is becoming the slave of the machine.... The victor, crashed, is dragged to death by the team.... The Faustian thought begins to be sick of machines."

According to Spengler, the Faustian spirit represents a whole epoch which in his opinion is today in its decline. But what Spengler presents is a jumble of disarrayed historical facts which begin with "Galileian dynamics, Catholic and Protestant dogmatics, the great dynasties of the Baroque, the destiny of Lear, the Madonna-ideal" and end with "the last line of *Faust II*."

At the end of *Faust* II, Goethe lifted the edge of history's curtain to reveal the dream of budding capitalism. Goethe's Faust finally found himself in a gigantic technical enterprise, in the construction of a dam. Before his death, already blind, Faust imparted to Mephistopheles with the thrill of exultation in his voice.

> *"How I rejoice, to hear the clattering spade!*
> *It is the crowd, for me in service moiling*
> *Till earth be reconciled to toiling*
> *Until the proud waves be stilled*
> *And the sea girded with a rapid zone."*

Faust rejoiced to hear the clattering spade (there were no excavators in Goethe's time!), while the odor of machine oil brings Spengler into mad fury, and he prophesies that technics will perish with the Faustian soul.

Confronted with the danger of an impending revolution in Western Europe, Spengler prophesies the end of machine technics. He identifies the end of his class with the end of human culture. The confreres of his class, the Ramsins, were destroying machines in the country of the proletarian dictatorship. The bourgeoisie does not want to leave any legacy to the proletariat. Pushed off from the stage of history, it wants to take with it "its" property. Capitalism was always greedy. Shylock's spirit followed him even to his grave. In the proletarian state the Ramsins become machine-destroyers and saboteurs. When the revolution is in the offing the Spenglers preach the decline of technics and create a hostile attitude toward technical progress. Defeatism in the art and science of engineering, Spenglerism and the anti-machine movement are all varieties of capitalist reaction and class bigotry.

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The historical curve of capitalism has completed its sycle—from the leaders of the industrial revolution, the Faustian dam, down to Spengler and Ramsin. At this point a new line cuts through, the line of the rising proletarian revolution. This line moves in an opposite direction. When Faust was constructing his dam the first proletarians were breaking and destroying machines of the capitalist masters. The beginning of the industrial revolution was accompanied by a militant mass movement of machine-breakers, the Luddites. The beginning of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union was accompanied by a wave of sabotage by bourgeois engineers. While Goethe was writing the second part of *Faust*, Byron wrote his "Song for the Luddites."

As the Liberty lads o'er the sea
Bought their freedom, and cheaply, with blood,
So we, boys, we,
Will DIE *fighting, or* LIVE *free.*
And down with all kings but King Ludd!

When the web that we weave is complete,
And the shuttle exchanged for the sword,
We will fling the winding-sheet
O'er the despot at our feet
And dye it deep in the gore he has pour'd.

Though black as his heart its hue,
Since his veins are corrupted to mud,
Yet this is the dew
Which the tree shall renew
Of Liberty, planted by Ludd!

The Luddite workers could not yet distinguish between the capitalist and the socialist use of the machine, nor in general understand the laws of historical development. The working class soon learned the class origin of technics and the class use of the machine. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat directed its blows against the capitalist use of the machine and not against the machine itself.

When the Proletarian Revolution was accomplished and the workers became the masters of the machine, the dream of the Luddites, ("when the web that we weave is complete") was realized, only upon a new social basis. The descendants of the Luddites are the present-day *udarniks* of Socialist contruction. The balance sheet of history reveals the course of development of the two classes from the Luddites to the shock brigaders; from Faust and the leaders of the industrial revolution to Spengler and the Ramsin saboteurs.

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Spengler's little book reveals the extent to which the disintegration of capitalism has reached the consciousness of its ideologists.

> "The mechanization of the world has entered on a phase of highly dangerous over-tension. . . . The machine is beginning to contradict even economic practice in many ways (at last! G. V.) The machine, by its multiplication and its refinement, is in the end defeating its own purpose. In the great cities the motor-car has by its numbers destroyed its own value, and one gets on quicker on foot. In Argentina, Java, and elsewhere the simple horse-plough of the small cultivators has shown itself economically superior to the big motor implement, and is driving the latter out. . . . The strong and creative talents are turning away from practical problems and sciences and towards pure speculation. . . . The tension between work of leadership and work of execution has reached the level of a catastrophe. . . . There is beginning *the mutiny of the Hands* against their destiny, against anything and everything. The organization of work, as it has existed for thousands of years, based on the idea of 'collective doing' and the consequent division of labor between leaders and led, heads and hands, is being disintegrated from below. . . . At the close of last century, the blind will-to-power began to make its decisive mistakes. Instead of keeping strictly to itself the technical knowledge that constituted their greatest asset, the 'white' peoples complacently offered it to all the world, in every Hochschule, verbally and on paper. . . . And so, in place of the export of finished products exclusively, they began an export of secrets, processes, methods, engineers, and organizers."

A remarkably talented spell of madness! Death's penultimate portrait has indeed been written with excellent skill.

The revolution breaks the spine of capitalism with all its superstructures. Not only capitalist technics, but also capitalist organization of labor has reached a blind alley. Capitalism has transformed the worker and the technical intellectual into a mere adjunct of the machine and the machine itself into a supplement of the check book. But when the workers begin to rebel Spengler proposes to destroy the machine and to return to nature and to sport so that it may be easier to die.

The proletarian revolution is not only mustering technic, but is creating its own socialist organization of labor, *i.e.*, brigades, of socialist competition, brigades advancing counter-plans, brigades of economic accounting, etc. Millions of workers participate actively and consciously in economic construction. The economic-political activity of the masses is probably of no less importance to economic development than electricity. Even today, in the period of transition from capitalism to complete socialism, there is no longer such striking differences between those who direct and those who work as exists in capitalist countries. We are building Socialism in which

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the distinction between mental and physical work will be obliterated.

In order to envision and to understand the future of human socialism, it is necessary to rise to the highest peaks of the proletarian revolution. The Spenglers, steeped in their class fanaticism, cannot comprehend the magnitude of this great historical epoch.

> "There is no question of prudent retreat or wise renunciation. Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice. We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who, during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one thing that can *not* be taken from a man."

This is how Spengler ends his last book. A very "honest" end for one guarding the fire-proof safe, which, incidentally, is full of protested checks and stocks which pay no dividends.

Capitalism, however, does not intend to die the way Spengler prescribes. The Hitlerites are only girding up for a fight. The bloody claws of the beast of prey, capitalism's "supermen," are clutching at the breast of the proletariat. Nevertheless, Spengler remains a symptom of death. His philosophy is but a touchstone for Hitler's weapons.

For us in the Soviet Union who are directly involved in the participation of socialist construction, Spengler and his writings have a definite meaning. As we gaze upon this "winding-sheet" of capitalism, our socialist fatherland with its great Party and its heroic proletariat become even dearer to us. Our tractor, automobile and chemical giants, our Bloomings and their electrical hearts, our industrial Ukraine, the rising industrialization of the hoary Urals, Dnieprostroy, Kuznetzstroy, Karaganda, Volga, Sovkhozy, Kolkhozy, etc.—how we rejoice to hear their clatter!

We are for technics and for machines. Give us more machines and more technics for our socialist enterprises. Europe will not perish. Only capitalist Europe will die. Similarly our socialist construction will suffer no decline, because we are building a classless socialist society for the first time in history.

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Latin America and Our Press

By A. G. MARTIN

THE attitude of our press towards Latin America is highly unsatisfactory. In fact, our press does not deal with Latin America. This refers not alone to the Party press, but also to the press of the revolutionary unions and to those organs that are led by Communists.

Everyone agrees that this is a deplorable situation. But many comrades, especially the Party editors and journalists, have a number of explanations which are intended to excuse, if not to justify, the failure of our press to deal with Latin America. One of these explanations is that we have insufficient information, insufficient background, to be able to deal correctly with the current phases of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. The other is that we have no space for Latin American items because of the numerous campaigns and activities "at home." None of these so-called explanations bring out the true reason for our failure to fulfill our tasks with respect to Latin America.

The time has arrived when it must be clearly understood that what we are dealing with is a very grave underestimation of the political importance of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and of our tasks—the tasks of the Communists in the United States—in relation to Latin America.

By this we do not mean to suggest that the question of news, background and space in our papers plays no part in the question. It does play a certain part, but a very minor one. These technical and organizational difficulties could be overcome and will be overcome with comparatively little effort provided there is clear realization that at the bottom of the question lies a serious political underestimation of its importance.

THE ROLE OF LATIN AMERICA

We do not propose to discuss here the question of Latin America in all its manifold implications. The Comintern documents on the colonial question and the standard Leninist works constitute sufficient guidance for our Party press, and all Party workers, on this basic question of the revolutionary struggle. Here we only wish to point out several o fthose angles that assume an especial importance at the present time.

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1. Latin America constitutes one of the most important fields of imperialist aggression by the United States. The ruling class of the United States looks upon Latin America and fights for it as one of the most important reserves for U. S. imperialism.

2. Latin America is one of the chief fields of imperialist rivalry between U. S. and British imperialisms.

3. Latin America is becoming, because of the rapid growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and the spreading influence of the Communist Parties, one of the most important reserves for the proletarian revolution against the capitalist class of the United States.

If the Party press, and the Party functionaries as a whole, would only keep these consideration constantly before their eyes, they would have little difficulty in freeing themselves from the prevailing underestimation of the importance of these struggles. Now more than ever the situation demands a concrete approach to this question. It is no longer admissible to continue to speak of United States imperialism in the abstract when we are in a position to point to Latin America as one of the most important fields of imperialist aggression and colonial exploitation by Yankee imperialism. It is no longer admissible to speak abstractly of the colonial revolution as an integral part of the world revolution against capitalism when next door to us hundreds of thousands and millions of workers and peasants are waging a daily struggle against the domination of our "own" imperialism and its native supporters. Nor is it admissible any longer to speak of the toiling masses of Latin America as the allies of the working class in the United States without informing the American workers, systematically and day by day, of the self-sacrificing and courageous struggle of our allies and their leader—the Communist Parties of the Latin American countries.

The time has arrived when the alliance between the proletariat of the United States and the working and peasant masses of Latin America, for the common struggle against United States imperiadism, must be treated as a *practical political task*. This means that the question of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and our support of these struggles must become an integral part of our every-day activities.

LATIN AMERICA AND OUR ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES

The present war situation and our struggle against the war make it especially necessary to deal daily and systematically with Latin America. In fact, it is impossible to deal with the war situation

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thoroughly and concretely, especially from the point of view of the war preparations of United States imperialism, without bringing in Latin America and all its implications.

In its preparations for war and especially for a war against the Soviet Union, the ruling class of the United States is undertaking to utilize in full its influence and power in the Latin American countries. This is particularly evident in the Caribbean, but it is also true, to a large extent, for the other parts of Latin America. To expose this fact before the American workers, to show them how the entire Caribbean is being placed on (what amounts in practice) a war footing, to link this up with the latest war maneuvers of the United States fleet in the Pacific, to show how the growing white terror in the Caribbean countries (inspired and directed by the United States diplomatic agents in these countries)—to do all this is to bring to light in a convincing and concrete way not only the imperialist domination of our "own" ruling class in Latin America, but also the preparations for war of the capitalist class of the United States.

Consider also the question of mobilizing the masses for the anti-war struggle. The task of the American Party, and of our press, consists first of all in arousing and mobilizing the workers of the United States for this struggle. However, this does not mean that the fulfillment of this task can be accomplished separate and apart from the fulfillment of another task, which is, *to link up the anti-war struggle of the American proletariat with the anti-war struggle of the workers and toiling peasants of Latin America.* Both of these tasks are really two sides of one task. The task of bringing about a united front from below of the working class and all toiling classes of the Americas for a common struggle against the imperialist war, against imperialist domination and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL FASCISM

The social fascists of the United States are carrying on systematic activities in Latin America. Furthermore, Yankee social fascism has developed various organizations for the purpose of facilitating the expansion of United States imperialism into Latin America and for the purpose of demoralizing and obstructing the growth of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of those countries.

One need refer only to the Pan-American Federation of Labor and to the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Both of these organizations are undertaking to fulfill their special functions in Latin

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America for Yankee imperialism. To what extent does our press follow, expose and combat the imperialist activities of these social fascist organizations? To a very slight extent, if at all. And here we are touching on the general weakness of our press from the point of view of exposing and combatting the demagogy and treacheries of social fascism. With respect to Latin America one must under no circumstances underestimate the dangers arising from the activities of the Yankee social fascists.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor—the "labor" agency of Yankee imperialism for Latin America—is systematically trying to corrupt and demoralize the labor movement in these countries. True, it is being combatted by the Communist Parties of Latin America and by the revolutionary unions organized in the Latin American Confederation of Labor (C. S. L. A.), but this in no way absolves our press from exposing and combatting before the American working class the activities of these labor agents of Yankee imperialism in Latin America. On the contrary, to expose the imperialist activities of the Pan-American Confederation of Labor means at the same time to expose the social fascist role of Green, Woll and Company that are dominating the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Or take the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Socialist Party of America, through one of its chief leaders, Norman Thomas, is part and parcel of this organization. It certainly needs no proof for our Party workers that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is one of the pacifist instruments of Yankee imperialism in Latin America. Its pacifist demagogy and liberal "anti-imperialist" phraseology only serve to hide this fact from the masses, especially the masses of Latin America. The Fellowship of Reconciliation also includes the outstanding representatives of the "left" social fascists, such as Muste, and while the main field of operation of the Fellowship are the petty-bourgeois groups in Latin America, it at the same time is making efforts to penetrate also the labor movement. And these efforts the Fellowship is making under the pressure of its social fascist elements, such as Norman Thomas and Muste.

It can be stated without any fear of successful contradiction that our press is totally ignoring the activities of the United States social fascists in Latin America. This not only weakens our fight against social fascism in the United States, but it also weakens the fulfillment of our task of mobilizing the support of the masses in the United States for the liberation struggles of the toiling masses in Latin America.

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THE PARTY AND THE PRESS

The last resort of Party editors and journalists in explaining the shortcomings of our press on this question is that this shortcoming is not the fault of the press, but the fault of the entire Party. Whatever the intrinsic merits of this argument, its practical effect in the given situation is to make the comrades that are responsible for our press feel a bit easier on the matter. For this alone it is necessary to insist that whatever improvements must be made (and these are many and of a radical character) in the colonial work of the Party, this in no way detracts from the responsibility of our press as such in this matter.

Some Party editors maintain that they cannot deal with the latest phase of the Nicaraguan situation because the Central Committee has sent down no instructions on the question. But what additional instructions does a Party editor need on this question? None whatever. The condition of Nicaragua as practically a colony of the United States, is obvious. Moreover, it is one of those places in Latin America that have been invaded by Yankee forces and which is being ruled by United States marines. Do we have to have new instructions from the Central Committee in order to expose this fact before the working class of the United States? Do we have to be told by the Central Committee, at this present stage, that we must systematically and daily agitate and mobilize the masses to demand the withdrawal of the United States marines from Nicaragua, to render active support to the liberation struggles of the Nicaraguan masses, etc?

Obviously not. And yet the inclination of our press on this question is to sit quietly and await orders. This is an intolerable situation. Or take for example the January uprising in Salvador. Did our Party editors have to wait for orders from the Central Committee to report in their press the uprising of the Salvadorean workers and peasants? Did our press have to wait for special instructions in order to begin to arouse the sympathy and support of the American masses for this uprising? It is almost unbelievable that our press actually adopted such an attitude at the time when the character of the uprising was clear and especially when United States warships and United States marines were immediately rushed by the United States state department to Salvadorean waters to help crush the insurrection. And finally, when the uprising was crushed in a sea of blood under the direct guidance and with the assistance of the United States government, and when following this the wildest white terror was initiated in Salvador and throughout the other Central American countries—a terror directed

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with a special brutality against the Communist Parties and other revolutionary organizations of workers and peasants—our press still seems to be sitting quietly and awaiting orders from the Central Committee. For what? For reporting these facts to the masses, for arousing and mobilizing mass protests against the white terror? Do we have to have instructions also for this?

It is to be hoped that no one will misunderstand the above to mean an underestimation of the leading role of the Central Committee, and of the Party as a whole, in relation to its press. The weakness and shortcomings of the Party press is the Party's responsibility. This goes without saying. But the Party press can under no circumstances undertake to explain away its shortcomings on the Latin American question by the argument that the Party as a whole is doing very little in the matter. On the contrary, the special tasks of our press are to arouse the Party membership to this situation, to wake it up to its responsibilities in the matter and thus to mobilize the Party for its revolutionary mass work on this issue.

The Seventh Convention of our Party had adopted to so-called patronage plan whereby every Party district was to assume certain responsibilities to one or more countries in Latin America. This is a good and practical plan. But what has the Party press done to popularize this plan. It would seem that here was a weapon in our hands—in the hands of the press for concretizing the activities of the Party in the matter of rendering systematic support to the revolutionary movements in Latin America and especially to the Communist Parties. Our press has not availed itself of the opportunities contained in the patronage plan. It is suggested here that we begin to bring about a change in the attitude of our press to Latin America by taking up earnestly this work of popularizing this plan and of mobilizing the Party for it. This might serve as a good beginning for turning the attention of our press and of the Party as a whole towards Latin America and of making the revolutionary struggles in Latin America an integral part of our daily activities.

Another point of approach towards improvement of our attitude on Latin America is given us by the joint anti-war appeal issued recently by the Communist Parties of all American countries. The danger is that after the appeal has been published by our press, the whole thing will be dropped and nothing more said about it. This will not only mean the continuation of the old and impermissible attitude toward Latin America, but will also constitute a serious political error in the given situation. This anti-war appeal, which is directed to the workers and exploited masses of all the American

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countries, is the first step in the joint anti-war struggles in the Americas, it is just a beginning and it must be followed up by persistent and systematic agitational and other work. Clearly, our press must play a very great part in this work and if this is done, it will spell the beginning of a change towards a correct attitude to Latin America.

FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THE PROLETARIAN AND COLONIAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE AMERICAS

For the Communist movement of Latin America the idea of the alliance between the proletarian and colonial revolutions of the America is no abstraction. The Communist Parties in Latin America correctly conceive this alliance as a practical political task, which they are undertaking to fulfill by linking up the daily struggles of the masses in their respective countries with the general revolutionary fight of North and South America. They also realize that the creation of this alliance requires the daily, persistent work of agitation and organization of the Communist Parties in all the American countries.

It is suggested here that we begin to follow the example of some of the Communist Parties in Latin America.

Take the struggle for the release of the Scottsboro Negroes. The Communist Parties of Latin America very promptly took up this issue and undertook to develop a wide campaign of mass agitation and protest in support of the Scottsboro boys and in general for the struggle of Negro equality in the United States. In doing so, the Communist Parties of Latin America have not only demonstrated their solidarity with the revolutionary movement in the United States, but they have also undertaken in a practical way to build the alliance of the proletarian and colonial revolutionary movements in the American countries.

The same promptness was exhibited by some of the Communist Parties in Latin America, notably the Party in Cuba, in mobilizing protest demonstrations against Ford and against Yankee imperialism in general in connection with the murder of the four workers in front of the Dearborn plant. Here was another manifestation of the fact that the Communist Parties in Latin America, are proceeding to cement their alliance with the revolutionary movement in the United States in a concrete and practical way.

Let us follow the example of our brother Parties in Latin America.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1932.

State of New York
County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. Douglas, who, having been duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Communist Party of U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Editors, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster and William W. Weinstone, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, W. E. Douglas, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Communist Party of U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Earl Browder, William Z. Foster and William W. Weinstone, Secretariat, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

A non-profit organization—political.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of its owners, stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases when the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

W. E. DOUGLAS, Business Manager.

(Seal)

Sworn and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1932.

MAX KITZES, Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1934.)

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RALLY THE WORKERS
TO FIGHT BOSSES' WAR
AND TO DEFEND U.S.S.R.
AND THE CHINESE MASSES
WITH GREETINGS IN THE

MAY DAY

Daily Worker
Central Organ of the Communist Party U.S.A.

ALL THOSE CONTRIB-
UTING SINCE JAN. 17
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